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L I V E S
OF THE
MOST EMINENT SOVEREIGNS
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

LIVES

OF THE

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MOST EMINENT SOVEREIGNS

OF

MODERN EUROPE:

BY

THE LATE LORD DOVER.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, KING OF SWEDEN.

JOHN SOBIESKI, KING OF POLAND.

PETER THE GREAT, CZAR OF RUSSIA.

FREDERIC THE GREAT, KING OF PRUSSIA.

Als

L e s e b u c h

für die englische Klasse deutscher Schulen

eingrichtet und herausgegeben

von

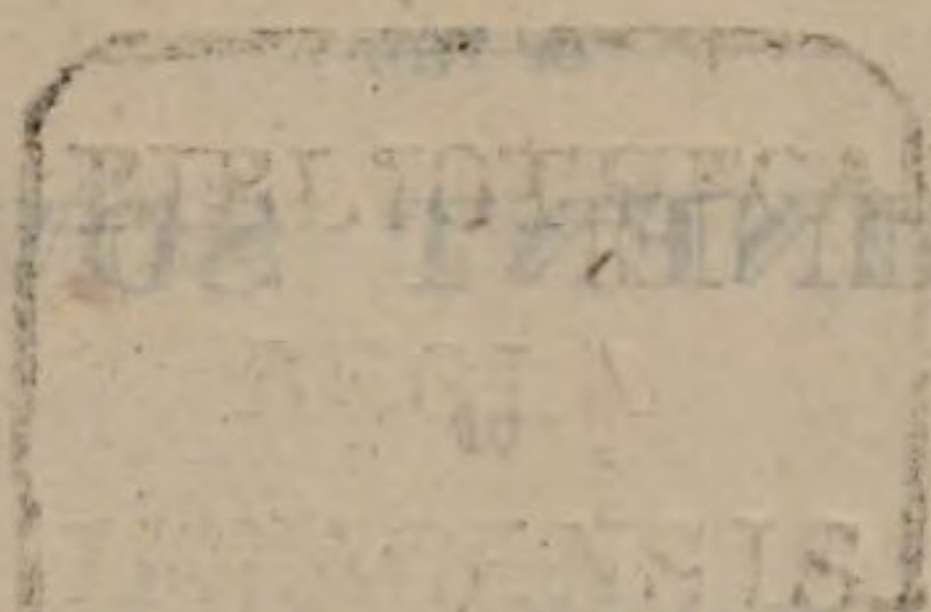
BEAUMONT AND SYDNEY SMOUT.

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MOST EMINENT AND VENERABLE



MONSIEUR DE BOURBON:

THE LATE LORD ROVER

CHRISTOPHER ALPHONSE KING OF SWITZER

JOHN ROBINSON KING OF POLAND

PETER THE GREAT, Czar of Russia

WILHELM THE GREAT KING OF PRUSSIA

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the die tonight 21st October 1871

CHARTERED AND INCORPORATED

BEALMONT AND SYDNEY SMITH

HANDS ON:

JOHN ROBINSON KING OF POLAND

TO THE

HON. HENRY AGAR ELLIS.

MY DEAREST BOY.

THE following sketches of the Lives of eminent Sovereigns of Modern Europe, have principally been written with a view to your advantage. I was, in the first place, anxious to encourage in you the love of history, which is perhaps best done in very young persons, by attracting them in the first instance with the more amusing studies of remarkable biographies.

I was also desirous to set before you the actions of men who have played a very conspicuous part on the theatre of the world, in ^{vorzüglich} order that you might thereby acquire a fit scale, by which, to measure and judge of the ^{Maßstab} value of great and meritorious deeds.

I wished, at the same time, that you should, by becoming acquainted with these great characters, see how much may be done, even during the brief period of human life, by ^{kurz} those who are placed in stations of power, for ^{Machtämter} the benefit of humanity. While at the same ^{Menschheit} time you could not fail to remark, from a ^{Betrachtung} consideration of their faults and errors, how imperfect is the constitution of man, even in ^{Beschaffenheit} those individuals upon whom an all-wise Providence has conferred great talents and excellent ^{bescheert}

intentions, combined with the power and the will of using them to the best advantage.

den besten Gebrauch davon zu machen

Of the Monarchs, whose eventful Lives I
ereignißvoll
 have selected to lay before you, the first in order is Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, a prince, whose magnanimity, valour, generous
Edelmuth
 and noble feelings, ability, and above all, deep and pious sense of religion, entitle him to
berechtigen
 perhaps a higher meed of praise than almost
Lohn
 any other character in modern history. Yet even this great man had his faults. The talents as a military commander, which he felt he possessed, perhaps led him too easily to engage
sich einlassen
 in a war which might have been the destruction
Vernichtung
 of his country; while undoubtedly, as his hopes became raised by successes, expectations of
gesteigert
 conquest and aggrandizement took possession
Vergrößerung

of his mind, which at the commencement of the contest he would have felt ashamed of entertaining.
Kampf

The errors of John Sobieski, King of Poland, were of a different kind. Of personal ambition he seems to have possessed as little as is consistent with the developement of the great qualities of a statesman and a warrior, with which he was endowed. He ruled Poland with a paternal hand; he quelled her ever-jarring factions, frequently at the sacrifice of his own dignity, and sometimes at the hazard of his personal safety. By his success in war and his sagacity in peace, he arrested for a time the downfall of his country, which, however, her own vicious constitution rendered, sooner or latter inevitable; and finally he delivered
verträglich Entwicklung begabt väterlich dämpfen streitend Scharfblick hemmte Untergang fehlerhaft unvermeidlich endlich

her, as well as Christendom, from the dangerous and unceasing attacks of the Ottoman Porte. With all these merits he was the slave of an unworthy wife, and of thankless children, whose restless ambition, and unfounded pretensions shed discomfort, and even occasionally disgrace Schande on his career.

Of Peter of Russia, the barbarian, who, though unable to control his own passions and beherrschen violences, yet succeeded in civilizing his country, the faults and the merits are each so evident offenbar and conspicuous that they cannot escape the eye or the understanding of the most superficial reader. His extraordinary aptitude to become Fähigkeit the founder of a great empire is perhaps as Gründer remarkable a fact as any in history. But while we are employed in drawing a moral

from his life and actions, we must remember that his faults were partly the consequence of education, while his merits were peculiarly his own.

Frederic the Great, King of Prussia, was in another way the founder of his own greatness, and of that of his country. By extending it without, nach außen and improving it within, nach innen he raised Prussia from the unimportant station Stand she had previously occupied in Europe to that of a eingenommen first rate power. At the same time, it must der ersten Klasse be allowed that the means he took to obtain these ends, especially those of territorial aggrandizement, were frequently unjustifiable. nicht zu rechtfertigen Especially his last act of the kind, the partition of Theilung Poland. The most admirable part of the character of this sovereign was without doubt his

constancy and fortitude under adversity; his
 singular ability in extricating himself from
sich herausziehen
 apparently insurmountable difficulties; and the
dem Anschein nach unübersteiglich
 great acts he performed in war with such
 enormously disproportioned means.
unverhältnißmäßig

You will, however, my dear boy, I trust
 be enabled to draw your own moral from the
 Lives of the Illustrious Men, better by a careful
 comparison of their different qualities and achieve-
 ments, than by any laboured parallel I can
große Thaten
 institute upon the subject; and I trust you will
 ever bear in mind that it is not the most showy
 and brilliant actions of kings which ought to
 be admired, but those which have for their
 object the benefit and happiness of their people.
 You must, above all, never forget that no acts,
 of fallible human nature can be really and
fehlbar

thoroughly good, which are not founded in a sincere piety, and a desire for the glory of the Almighty.

I remain, MY DEAREST BOY,

Your very affectionate Father,

DOVER.

DOVER HOUSE,

April 8, 1833,

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS,

KING OF SWEDEN.

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**I**T is for the most part the fate of those, who §. 1  
undertake to chronicle the actions of heroes, to be  
compelled to <sup>aufzeichnen</sup> balance the bright and shining pas-  
sages in their career, against those dark and repul-  
sive qualities, which are also usually found in the  
characters of conspicuous warriors, and which not  
unfrequently even <sup>überwiegen</sup> outweigh their merits. This  
ungracious duty will <sup>unerfreulich</sup> however occur less frequently  
to the historian of Gustavus Adolphus, than of any  
other conqueror; for to none of the great men of  
modern times does it belong, to exhibit to the  
observation of history so <sup>ist es eigen</sup> few faults, or so <sup>zeigen</sup> many virtues.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was the grandson of the 2  
great Gustavus Vasa, who having delivered his  
country, in the year 1523, from the oppression of  
Christian II. king of Denmark, was declared king



of Sweden by the States of that country. Upon the death of Gustavus Vasa, in 1560, his eldest son Eric ascended the throne. Eric died in 1568, and was succeeded by his next brother John, who reigned till 1592. Upon his death the States elected Sigismond, king of Poland, his eldest son, to succeed him; but Sigismond failed in every way in fulfilling their hopes, and sought to render Sweden a tributary province of Poland. He was therefore deposed in 1599, and his son Wladislaus, an infant six months old, elected in his stead, upon condition that he should be sent to Stockholm and educated there. This stipulation not having been fulfilled, the States in 1601 deposed Wladislaus, and elected Charles, duke of Sudermania, third son of Gustavus Vasa, and father of Gustavus Adolphus, who took the name of Charles the Ninth. This prince was twice married; first, to Anna Maria, daughter of Lewis, Elector Palatine—and secondly, to Christina, daughter of Adolphus, duke of Holstein and Sleswic, by whom he became the father of Gustavus Adolphus, on the 9th of December, 1594.

3 The education of Gustavus was calculated to render him a warrior, for, while the learning of <sup>berednet</sup>



those times was carefully instilled into his mind, his frame was inured to hardships of all kinds—and became alike indifferent to heat and cold; and at the same time his limbs were rendered active by various kinds of gymnastic exercises. Early in his childhood he learned the duties of a common musqueteer; and at the age of sixteen he made a campaign against the Danes, in which he greatly distinguished himself both for valour and conduct.

Klugheit.

In 1611, died, Charles the Ninth; the last act of whose life was a challenge to single combat sent by him to Christian the Fourth, king of Denmark, with whom he was at war. The Danish monarch, with a good sense, superior to that of his age, replied, that “the proposal was more that of a knighterrant than a sovereign, nor could he see the glory for a middle-aged man to put to death an old one, whom nature would take care to remove out of the way very soon.” Charles, in fact, expired a few weeks after receiving this answer to his cartel. On his death-bed he was told that the Swedish general, De la Gardie, had obtained considerable successes in Russia, and had thus paved the way for the advancement of his



younger<sup>1</sup> son to be Czar of that country. At this he showed no emotion, but turning calmly, and with an affectionate look to Gustavus, who was standing by his bed-side, he said, "I have resigned all wordly cares into better hands."—By the will of Charles, his widow, the queen Christina, <sup>Testament</sup> and John duke of Ostrogothia, the second son of John, elder brother of Charles the Ninth, were declared guardians of the young Gustavus, who wanted <sup>Vormünder</sup> some months of the age prescribed by the laws of <sup>fehlten</sup> Sweden as the epoch of the majority of princes <sup>Mündigkeit</sup> 2.

5 On the assembling of the States for the purpose of electing a king, the public feeling, having been already very generally expressed <sup>Stimmung</sup> in favour of Gustavus, John, duke of Ostrogothia, commenced the proceedings, by coming forward and declaring his <sup>Verhandlungen</sup> determination of waiving his claims to the crown, in favour of his <sup>aufgeben</sup> cousin. This was followed by a modest declaration of Gustavus, acknowledging his own youth and inexperience, and his con-

<sup>1</sup> Charles Philipp, only brother of Gustavus Adolphus, born 1700; died at Narva, January 25, 1622, without having been Czar of Muscovy.

<sup>2</sup> Princes, in Sweden, are considered to be of age as soon as they have commenced their eighteenth year.



sequent unfitness to undertake the government of the kingdom; but promising, should the States still think proper to choose him, to preserve the laws of the kingdom, and the rights of the subject inviolate—to cherish and follow the reformed religion—and “to endeavour to acquit himself, in all respects, with honour, magnanimity, and fidelity.” Few inaugural promises of sovereigns have ever been so well or so exactly kept during their reigns, as were these by the Swedish monarch. The assembly concluded by the election and inauguration of Gustavus Adolphus on the last day of the year 1611.

The political prospects of the young king at the commencement of his reign were not cheering. He found himself at war with Denmark and Muscovy—while Sigismond, king of Poland, unmindful of the ties of relationship, was prepared to do all the injury in his power to his cousin and his kingdom. Almost the first act of sovereignty of Gustavus, was the appointment of the celebrated Oxenstiern to the office of chancellor, and the duties of prime minister of Sweden—a choice, the wisdom of which was fully proved by experience.



7 James the First, king of England, whose meddling pedantry was always on the watch to find out <sup>geschäftige</sup> opportunities for showing his self-imagined talents for diplomacy, took the occasion of the accession of Gustavus to send Sir James Spence to Stockholm with an offer of mediation on the part of his master between Denmark and Sweden. <sup>lauer</sup> The young king accepted the pompous offers of pacification sent him by the king of great Britain; <sup>prunthast</sup> but showed his wisdom at the same time by putting his trust in "his own right arm," and in the valour of his troops. <sup>Bertrauen</sup> Thus while James and his ambassadors were splitting hairs with the Swedish and Danish ministers, <sup>sich in Spitzfindigkeiten verlieren</sup> Gustavus early in the year 1612 took the field in person, and commenced his operations by the successful siege of Elsenberg. This enterprise was followed up by an invasion of Norway, which was however interrupted by the news Gustavus received that the king of Poland had entered the province of Carelia—a part of Livonia, which had been acquired to Sweden by the late king Charles. The Swedish king's appearance in Carelia put a stop to the attempts of his enemies —but while he was thus employed, <sup>ein Ziel sehen</sup> Christian, king of Denmark, took occasion of his absence to <sup>benutzte</sup>



obtain possession of Elsenberg and Goltzberg. He then penetrated sixty miles into the country, and laid siege to Jencop. Gustavus ordered the governor of that place to ruin the fortifications of the town, which he could not defend, and retire into the citadel. A judicious measure, which delayed the advance of the <sup>flug</sup> Danish king. The advantages <sup>verzögern</sup> on both sides <sup>vorrücken</sup> being now pretty equally balanced, and the war drawing out into one of defence, which wearied both <sup>in die Länge ziehen</sup> commanders and men, the Danish king became more inclined to listen to the proposals of peace, which were always pressing through the intervention of the British plenipotentiaries. The year 1613 saw the treaty between Denmark and Sweden brought to a successful issue. In the following year Gustavus made an <sup>Schluss</sup> offensive and defensive alliance with the States General of Holland.

These events enabled him to turn his undivided <sup>s</sup> attention to the war, which was still going on on the side of Muscovy, and also of Poland. The following year<sup>3</sup> witnessed the conclusion of the war with Poland, and Sigismond was even induced

<sup>3</sup> 1614.



to join Gustavus in an alliance against the Muscovites. The principal cause of the quarrel with the Czar consisted in his refusal to repay to Sweden a sum of money which had been advanced by the latter power to Russia in a time of distress<sup>vorgeschossen</sup>. Provoked by such ingratitude and dishonesty<sup>Noth</sup>, Gustavus, early in the year 1615, entered, and took possession of the province of Ingria—made himself master, by storm, of the fort of Kexholm—and laid siege to the strong place of Plesko. He, also, during the summer, obtained possession of the impregnable castle of Notteberg, situated on a small island at the mouth of the Narva. This undertaking was blamed by all his generals as hopeless; but Gustavus persisted—landed at the head of his troops—and the place surrendered by composition. In it was found a great store of provisions<sup>Be-  
trag</sup> and ammunition<sup>Vorrath</sup>. Towards the end of the campaign, and when Plesko was upon the point of falling into his hands, Gustavus gave a proof of his moderation and his desire for peace, by abandoning his conquest at the desire of the English plenipotentiaries<sup>abtrat</sup>, who were still mediating between the contending powers. Upon this occasion he wrote to Sir John Merrick to the following effect



—“I have reduced the place to the very point of capitulating: but notwithstanding all my fatigues, expenses, and military losses, upon condition the Muscovites be duly and justly restrained for times to come, I lay my glory a sacrifice at the feet of England, with a view to convince mankind in general, that I waged this war not from motives of ambition (for my territories are sufficiently large and powerful) but from actual compulsion, and the necessity of things. It ever hath been, and is still my inclination to cultivate peace and friendship with my neighbours. This, upon just and honourable terms, is most congenial to my natural temper: but if a lawful war is not to be healed by conciliatory and reputable measures, I am then ready to continue it with resolution<sup>4</sup>.” These just and wise and temperate sentiments followed up as they were by corresponding actions, are singularly honourable in the mouth of a prince, by nature warlike and impetuous, and then only in the twenty-first year of his age.

The year 1616, was entirely taken up with the negotiations with the Russians — and in 1617,

<sup>4</sup> Dated from Narva, Nov. 30, 1615.—LOCCENIUS.



a treaty between the two nations was concluded at Stolba. This was ratified and completed in the following year, by the mediation of England and Holland. Gustavus now devoted himself more intently than he had been able previously to do, to the internal improvements of his kingdom, and to the regulations of his university of Upsal, in which he took great interest<sup>5</sup>. His decisions with regard to this seat of learning, were not however, it must be confessed, always dictated by that sound sense, which upon other occasions usually distinguished the monarch. In consequence of Poland being at this period considered the country of science, Gustavus was induced to publish an edict against metaphysics, which he forbid to be taught in his university. This was followed by a law, forbidding young men to study in foreign places of education, without the special leave of the Swedish government. These narrow-minded, and at the same time useless measures, are indefensible; but the excuse

<sup>5</sup> In 1625, Gustavus bestowed upon this university the patrimonial estate belonging to his own family of Vasa. He also, about the same time, founded another university at Abo; and shortly before his death a third, a Dorpat, in Livonia.



for Gustavus may be found, in some degree at least in the age in which he lived, when the true and sound policy of liberality was not yet discovered or acknowledged.

It was during this period of his life, that <sup>10</sup> Gustavus principally applied himself to the study of military tactics. His days were so fully occupied in regulating the affairs of his kingdom, that his hours of reading were necessarily taken from those of sleep. He frequently passed whole nights in perusing the military history of the ancients, and in comparing their manner of warfare with that of his own time. <sup>Kriegführung</sup>

The year 1617 brought to an end the ill- <sup>11</sup> arranged peace, which had been concluded with Sigismund, king of Poland. That prince, whose enmity to Gustavus, however at times concealed, was never extinguished, was engaged in a course of intrigues for driving his cousin from the throne of Sweden, in order to reinstate himself upon it. <sup>wieder einsetzen</sup> In these he was also encouraged by Austrian emissaries, who gave him hopes of receiving money and troops from Vienna, to enable him to reconquer Sweden. Gustavus bore for some time with these proceedings, but finding that his forbearance <sup>Vorgängen</sup> <sup>Enthaltſamkeit</sup>



only augmented the malevolence of Sigismond, he determined at once to <sup>Böswilligkeit</sup> attack him, before he had time to make his preparations. With this design he suddenly invaded Livonia, and took possession of a considerable <sup>einfallen</sup> portion of that province. Sigismond, who was at this time sorely pressed on the other frontier of his dominions by <sup>stark gedrängt</sup> Bethlem Gabor, prince of Transylvania, assisted by the Turks and Tartars, <sup>Siebenbürgen</sup> implored from the generosity of Gustavus a truce for two years. The latter, hoping that his cousin had returned to better feelings towards him, readily granted his request—<sup>Gefinnungen</sup> but in the subsequent year he was obliged to recommence <sup>darauf folgend</sup> hostilities: Sigismond having continued his hostile <sup>Feindseligkeiten</sup> intrigues, as soon as Gustavus's army was no longer in his territories.

12 In the year 1620. Gustavus made a journey, *incognito*, through the principal towns in Germany—and concluded his tour by visiting the court of Berlin, in order that he might see the young princess of Brandenburg, whom he intended to marry. Maria Eleonora, the sister of George William, the elector of Brandenburg, and daughter of the elector, John Sigismond, was a woman of moderate <sup>mittelmäßig</sup> abilities, but possessed of considerable firmness of



mind—and of exemplary good conduct. Gustavus was so entirely satisfied with what he saw of this princess, that he shortly afterwards married her, and carried her to Stockholm, where she was crowned, in the month of November, 1620 <sup>6</sup>. 13

During these years of his reign, which preceded his invasion of Germany, Gustavus was indefatigable in improving the laws and internal regulations of his kingdom <sup>7</sup>—in fostering and enlarging his navy—and above all, in <sup>pflügen</sup> preparing his army <sup>Seemacht</sup> for the arduous contests they were destined to be engaged <sup>beschwerlicher Kampf</sup> in. With this view he <sup>verwickelt</sup> formed an entirely new system of military discipline, the result of his studies of the best military authors, as well as of his own observation and experience. The arms of his troops were also much improved both in lightness and efficiency—and in order to obtain the double benefit of <sup>Wirksamkeit</sup> em-  
<sup>Vorteil</sup>

<sup>6</sup> By his queen the only offspring of Gustavus was Christina, who after his death was declared queen of Sweden; and who has become celebrated in history from her talents, her eccentricities, her vices, and her crimes.

<sup>7</sup> He was particularly anxious to abridge the time and expense of lawsuits—in which to a great degree he succeeded.



ploying and enriching his people, and of having a constant supply of arms, he instituted manufactures of guns, <sup>Vorrath</sup>swords, pikes, &c. in <sup>stiften</sup>different parts of his kingdom. Previous to the establishment of these, the Swedes were obliged to send to Italy and Spain for their steel arms.

14 The next remarkable event in the career of Gustavus was the undertaking of the siege of Riga, the capital city of Livonia—a town of much trade, well fortified, and defended by a strong garrison. The commencement of his expedition was unfavourable to the Swedish monarch; for a violent storm which his fleet encountered at the mouth of the Dwina, the river on <sup>bestehen</sup>which Riga is situated, dispersed, and shattered it. But after a short delay he, with the assistance of his admirals, <sup>zerfchlagen</sup>contrived to reunite it—and then, having successfully, and with great skill, effected the landing of his troops, amounting to twenty-four thousand men, <sup>bewirkt</sup>he invested the city. Riga was soon strictly <sup>einschließen</sup>blockaded by land and water—nor could the prince Radzivil, the general of the king of Poland, who was sent to its relief, ever contrive to break through the lines, which <sup>Entsetzung</sup>Gustavus had drawn round it. The garrison and inhabitants defended themselves



with courage and conduct, and probably would have done so with success, had not the personal exertions of Gustavus urged the besiegers to a degree of perseverance and enthusiasm, which nothing could <sup>Beharrlichkeit</sup> resist. The Swedish king went through very great dangers in the course of this <sup>bestand</sup> siege: and several times narrowly escaped destruction; for where the severest resistance was expected, there was he always to be found at the head of his troops—besides which, he exposed his person to imminent risk in the various observations of the town he considered himself obliged to take. Nor did he confine his labours to those of a leader and general. Frequently was he to be seen stripped to his shirt, and at work in the trenches with <sup>entleidet</sup> pickaxe and shovel; in order by these means to <sup>Bide</sup> encourage his soldiers in these works. Thus the siege continued for some time; with great losses on both sides. Gustavus, anxious to put a stop to the effusion of blood, more than once made offers of a very advantageous kind to the inhabitants, if they would capitulate; but his generosity was taken for weakness; and therefore repelled with contempt. At length the inhabitants, <sup>zurückweisen</sup> after a defence of six weeks, perceiving preparations making for a



general assault, and aware they could not hope successfully to resist <sup>Sturm</sup> it, offered to surrender. Gustavus, though he was aware of their feebleness, and also knew the injurious manner in which they had spoken of himself during the siege readily granted them honourable terms; and agreed to permit them to consider <sup>Bedingungen</sup> themselves on the same footing with the rest of his subjects. As soon as Gustavus entered the town, he went to the great church of St. Peter, and there on his knees returned thanks to God, "who had given him the victory." When the magistracy were introduced to him, and endeavoured to apologize for their resistance, he told them, "He never desired nor expected better conduct from them, than they had shown towards their former master: upon which account he should not only preserve their privileges, but augment them." The first act of sovereignty performed by Gustavus, in Riga, was the banishment of the Jesuits from that town: he then proceeded with fourteen thousand men to Mittau, the capital and residence of the duke of Courland, of which he made himself master. Upon the humble petition of the duke, Gustavus agreed to restore the town to him on certain conditions.



These successes of the Swedes obliged Sigismond to request a truce of a year <sup>8</sup>, which was granted to him. <sup>Waffenstillstand</sup>

In 1623, Sigismond showed again a disposition <sup>15</sup> to recommence hostilities, and with this view arrived at Dantzic for the purpose of arranging an invasion of Sweden. While he was there, Gustavus, who had penetrated his designs, arrived at the head of <sup>eingedrungen</sup> sixty-six ships at the mouth of the port of Dantzic. The sight of this considerable armament had such an effect upon Sigismond, that <sup>Kriegszurüstung</sup> he relinquished his hostile plans, and <sup>aufgab</sup> implored a continuation of the truce till the year 1625. In that year the war recommenced by the invasion by Gustavus of Livonia. There he first made himself master of Hohenhausen, a strong fortress near the Dwina—and, subsequently, of the towns of Selburg, Duneberg, and Dorpat. In a short time he was master of all the considerable places in the province, with the exception of Dunamond. He also met, and cut to pieces, a detachment, which was on its march to surprise Riga; and afterwards completely <sup>überrumpeln</sup> routed the Polish army, near the same town, under <sup>in die Flucht schlagen</sup> command of the prince Sapieha, who was killed in the



conflict. Gustavus then threw a bridge over the river Dwina, and entered <sup>schlug</sup> the duchies of Semigallia and Courland, in both of which he made himself master of several fortresses.

16

Always moderate and reasonable, even during his greatest successes, the king of Sweden now deputed Oxenstiern, and two other plenipotentiaries, to offer a renewal of peace to Sigismond—but they were able to effect nothing. This fruitless negotiation was followed by a battle between the two armies on the plains of Semigallia, near the village of Walhoff. Gustavus, as usual, commanded his own troops in person—and those of the Poles were led by prince Leo Sapieha, the father of the one who meet his fate near Riga. Gustavus placed himself in the <sup>Lodt</sup> centre, and animated his troops by his presence and example—and the event of the battle was not long dubious. In spite of the <sup>Ausgang</sup> superiority of the Polish cavalry, which was enabled to manœuvre as it pleased in the open plains, the army of Sigismond soon gave way, and the Swedes obtained the victory. The Poles lost their <sup>weichen</sup> artillery, baggage, many standards, numerous prisoners, and one thousand six hundred men slain on the field of battle. It is said, that before the en-



gagement, Gustavus sent a trumpeter to Sapieha with a short message to the effect, "That as there were two such things in the world as peace and war, he made him the compliment of allowing him to choose that which he preferred most." To this Sapieha replied—"That his only ambition, and desire, was to make a fair trial with his majesty on equal ground." Again, after his victory, did the moderate <sup>Terrain</sup> Gustavus offer peace to his enemy—and again was his proposal refused. Sigismond convened an extraordinary diet at Warsaw, to <sup>zusammenberufen</sup> consider of the best methods of recovering his lost <sup>Reichstag</sup> provinces. Meanwhile Gustavus, as he was forced to continue the war, was more usefully employed in planning an invasion of Polish Prussia.

In the month of February, 1626, long before <sup>17</sup> the usual time of opening a campaign in those northern climates, and while it was universally thought that Gustavus was preparing for a second invasion of Livonia, that prince embarked an army of twenty-six thousand men, in one hundred and fifty ships, and steered into the harbour of Pillau, a town garrisoned by the troops of the elector of Brandenburg. <sup>befest</sup> Pillau was delivered over to the Swedes without resistance, and Gustavus having



landed his troops, marched them into Polish Prussia. Here he took several towns and fortresses, and among others the city of Elbing, which capitulated without much resistance. While the burgomaster and one of the king's generals were signing the act of surrender in the royal tent, Gustavus gave a proof of his contempt of danger by walking up to one of the town gates alone, and requesting the citizens to admit him upon friendly terms. On their doing so, he apologized to them for not being better dressed; and having strolled through several of the streets followed by <sup>Schlendern</sup> crowds, he at length entered a bookseller's shop, and asked for a copy of Buchanan's poems.

18 The ultimate end proposed by Gustavus, in this campaign, was to gain possession of Dantzic; and as he took town after town, and approached nearer and nearer to it, Sigismond at length began to feel that it was necessary for him to take a more active part than he had hitherto done in opposing his progress. With this view, he collected an army of thirty thousand men, and advanced to Graudentz, on the Vistula. Here he found Gustavus in possession of all the fortresses near Dantzic, as well as of the course of the river. The generals



of Sigismond soon saw that their only chance of doing any good to their cause was by bringing the Swedes to a general engagement. They therefore laid siege to a small town, called Mewe. This, as they had foreseen, obliged their enemies to advance to its relief; and thus a very bloody engagement was commenced, which lasted with intervals for two days. The troops on both sides behaved with courage, but the issue of the affair was, that the Poles, though for the moment they kept possession of the field of battle, raised the siege of Mewe, and retreated. During the battle, <sup>aufheben</sup> Gustavus had twice fallen into the enemies' hands. The second time that this accident happened to him, he was delivered by the presence of mind of a Swedish soldier of cavalry. The man, in order to conceal Gustavus's real quality, called out to the Poles, "Have a care of yourselves, for we will rescue my brother"—and then charging them with a few of his companions, performed what he had threatened. Shortly afterwards Gustavus saw that his deliverer was, in his turn, made a prisoner; upon which he put himself at the head of a few <sup>an der Spitze</sup> horsemen, and brought him safely off, saying at the same time, "Now, brother soldier, we are upon



equal terms, for the obligation is reciprocal. After <sup>find wir uns nichts schuldig</sup> the battle, Gustavus entered the town, and <sup>gegenseitig</sup> praised and rewarded the fidelity and bravery of the garrison and inhabitants. In the evening the officers assembled to prayers at the king's lodgings, as was usual after any success. Botwid, the king's chaplain, who had been employed at his devotions during the contest, congratulated his majesty on its success. To which Gustavus replied, "That he could not help feeling confident of the good issue of the battle, when he knew that Moses was assisting him with his prayers on the mount."

19 On his return after the campaign to his capital, Gustavus employed himself in devising schemes for improving and extending the <sup>entwerfen</sup> commerce of his subjects. It was also at this time that he published an edict in favour of oppressed and persecuted Protestants in all countries, whom he hereby invited to Sweden, and promised to them various immunities and advantages. Gustavus, during the <sup>Gerechtfame</sup> winter, also augmented his army very considerably; but, while the weather was still too inclement to allow of his transporting them to Pillau, he had <sup>streng</sup> the misfortune of hearing that a body of his troops, which he had left near the town of Putzka, had fallen into the



hands of the enemy; who had also made themselves masters of Putzka, and the surrounding territory.

Early in May, 1627, however, Gustavus reached the scene of action; where the Polish troops were already arrived under the command of Conospo-  
liski, an officer of merit and activity: Gustavus commenced the campaign by obtaining possession of the fortress of Kesmark; while on the same day he defeated a large detachment of Poles who were marching to its relief. Shortly after this the Poles attacked Gustavus's camp, which occasioned a battle, in which the Poles were repulsed with loss. In this engagement Gustavus was <sup>zurückgeschlagen</sup> wounded in the <sup>Treffen</sup> elbow; which so terrified his principal generals and followers, that they united in beseeching him for the future to take more care of his personal safety. But Gustavus answered them with equal modesty and courage. "You should remember that the Divine Power will continue the same when I am gone; nor can I consider myself so indispens-  
<sup>unumgänglich</sup> ably necessary for the preservation of my kingdom as you, from a kind prepossession in my favour, are inclined to imagine. <sup>Voreingenommenheit</sup> If the supreme Being shall be pleased to dispose of me in the day of <sup>Wesen</sup> battle, he will doubtless <sup>verfügen</sup> raise up some other sup-



port to the crown of Sweden. But as that selfsame Being hath committed this important charge to me, it is my business to perform it without any views of favouring myself: and if death be my <sup>Absicht</sup> portion in the event of war, how can a king die <sup>Antheil</sup> more gloriously than in the justification and defense of his people." Gustavus was obliged to return to Stockholm to take care of his wound, leaving his army under the command of Count Thurn; while a body of imperial troops, under the command of Adolphus, duke of Holstein, added themselves to the forces of Sigismond.

24 Early in the spring of 1628, Gustavus again embarked from Stockholm, with the reinforcements <sup>sich einschiffen</sup> for his army, and a naval force of thirty-three <sup>Verstärkung</sup> vessels. After some inconsiderable skirmishes <sup>Seemacht</sup> with ships from Dantzic, and also with a part of the Polish navy, whom he met by the way, Gustavus landed his troops, and took possession of an island in the river near Dantzic, which enabled him the more completely to blockade the town. His fleet at the same time blockaded the mouth <sup>Mündung</sup> of the harbour. They were however soon driven from this post with loss by the Dantzic vessels, and were obliged to take refuge <sup>Zufucht</sup> in the port of Pillau.



Gustavus meanwhile had by land obtained a considerable advantage over the Polish general Conospoliski, who lost in the engagement three thousand men, some guns and colours, and was himself severely wounded. The Swedish fleet also did not continue long in inactivity, but having received reinforcements, put to sea again, and having completely defeated the combined armaments of Dantzic and Poland, resumed its former station at the mouth of the harbour. The remainder of the campaign was spent in skirmishes, which though not entirely decisive, were generally rather favourable to the Swedes. It is indeed probable that Gustavus would, during its course, have gained possession of Dantzic, but that he received a dangerous wound in the belly, which, by preventing his presence among them, slackened the ardour alike of his soldiers and generals. The rains also, which were peculiarly heavy this year, presented another obstacle to the success of the Swedes, who were finally obliged to break up their camp, the Vistula having overflowed its banks, and to march inland. In their course they took the towns of Neuburg, Dribentz, and Strasberg — in the latter was found an immense booty, amounting to about six tons



weight of gold, which belonged to the queen of Poland and some of the nobles. Proceeding onwards the town of Sweitz fell into their hands by storm. Incursions were even made into the province of Massovia, where many Polish ladies of rank were taken prisoners by the Swedish soldiers; who seemed disposed to inflict upon them the treatment, which female prisoners in war are too apt to be subjected to. But Gustavus, with his usual humanity, prevented this—telling his soldiers, “That those who served under his command were to wage war and commit hostilities upon their own sex only, and that the ideas of a soldier and a perpetrator of outrages, ought to carry no connexion between each other.” He then restored the ladies to their liberty; upon the promise of their causing their respective ransoms to be paid.

22 Farther attempts, through the mediation of the Dutch, were made during the course of this year to effect peace between Sigismond and Gustavus. But the imperial emissaries, who were the original causes of the war, still continued by their intrigues and their magnificent promises to deter Sigismond from accepting the terms offered to him. It was



becoming every day more necessary to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, who were now occupied, during the progress of that lengthened contest which is commonly called the Thirty Years' War, in striving to overturn at once the protestant religion and the liberties of the Germanic empire, to give employment to Gustavus near home — and thus to prevent him from throwing his powerful sword into the scale against them. In addition to this, the ambitious Wallenstein, who was now engaged in the siege of Stralsund; and whose mind was full of the dream of sovereignty for himself in the north of Germany, which he was preparing to realize, and for which he had paved the way by the usurpation of the two duchies of Mecklenburgh, was peculiarly and personally anxious to deter Gustavus from interfering with his own gigantic plans. He had just vanquished the other king of the north, Christian of Denmark, whose offers of assisting the Protestants of Germany had been preferred to those of Gustavus; but he would have preferred that Gustavus should have been overcome by the Poles without trouble to himself; and he hoped, as did the rest of the enemies of the king of Sweden, to wear out and waste his

ermüden                      verschwenden



power, by this long continuation of hostilities. “But,” observes an eminent historian of those times, “a circumstance upon which these intriguers had not counted, the heroic greatness of mind of Gustavus, <sup>gerechnet</sup> tore in pieces this web of perfidious policy. The war of Poland, which <sup>Gemebe</sup> was prolonged for a space of eight years, so far from exhausting the force of Sweden, had only served to mature the talents of Gustavus Adolphus as a commander, <sup>reifen</sup> to render hardy the Swedish armies through a long habit of <sup>abhärten</sup> fighting, and to form and perfect insensibly that new art of war, which was destined to enable them to execute such prodigies on the soil of <sup>Wunderdinge</sup> Germany <sup>9</sup>.”

23

In furtherance of the imperial plans the plenipotentiaries <sup>Beförderung</sup> of Gustavus were refused admittance to the Congress of Lubec, and were even threatened by Wallenstein with personal violence. At this congress a peace was now concluding between the emperor and the king of Denmark, which, as has been well observed, “only cost the latter the honour of his crown”—for he recovered his territory of Holstein; and abandoned all his former <sup>preisgeben</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Schiller, Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans.



alies and engagements. In this contemptuous treatment of the king of Sweden, however, the imperialists overshot their mark; for the insult thus offered to Gustavus, <sup>das Ziel verfehlen</sup> so exceedingly affronted him, that it is supposed to have been one of the reasons which the most weighed with him in leading his troops into the heart of the empire. <sup>Gewicht haben</sup> He felt however, that it would be impossible for him to undertake the cause of the suffering Protestants, so long as he had any thing to dread from the enmity of Poland, or from the jealousy of Denmark. With regard to the former, it was reserved for the Cardinal de Richelieu, whose one great object of abasing the power of the house of Austria, <sup>Sweet demüthigen</sup> led him to be the firmest supporter of Gustavus, to have the honour of accomplishing the long-desired truce between that sovereign and Sigismond. Gustavus Adolphus was occupied in Polish Prussia in the campaign against Sigismond, when Charnassé, the negotiator of the cardinal, appeared there. Gustavus was opposed at this moment by the united armies of Conospoliski, who commanded the troops of Sigismond, and of Arnheim, who led the imperial reinforcements. There had lately taken place between them and the



Swedish monarch a severe engagement near Marienwerder, but without any decisive issue. Early in the engagement, the rashness of some of Gustavus's officers gave the advantage to the imperialists; but the king restored the fortune of the day, by combating at the head of one of his regiments like a common soldier. Upon this occasion, also, Gustavus ran great risks; for he received five balls in his armour, besides narrowly escaping being shot by Sirot, a French officer, the fire of whose pistol burnt the king's hair, and knocked his hat off. The hat was taken by the enemy; and was afterwards sent by the emperor, as a trophy, to the shrine of Loretto.—Charnassé employed himself in going backwards and forwards between the two kings, till at length he had vanquished all obstacles, and a truce was concluded for five years, during which Gustavus was to keep possession of his conquests.

24

With regard to Denmark, Gustavus had a personal interview with Christian, in which he received from that sovereign assurances of friendship. He then put his frontiers, on the side of Muscovy, into a state of defence; entered into negotiations with Gabor, prince of Transylvania,



the irreconcilable enemy of the Austrian name; and commenced the other necessary preparations for the great enterprise he had undertaken. The state of Germany, at present, was this — the power of the emperor was everywhere predominant. His generals, the ferocious Tilly, the bloody Pappenheim, the ambitious Maximilian of Bavaria; and Wallenstein, in whom all these qualities were more peculiarly united, had all, in different parts of the empire, been successful in vanquishing his enemies — in crushing the power of the Protestants — and in laying waste, with every circumstance of cruelty, the territories alike of friends and foes. Wallenstein, whose power and insolence had given umbrage to the imperial court, was now in disgrace; and Maximilian of Bavaria, having completed his task, and received his reward in the possession of the territories of his unhappy cousin, the Elector Palatine, and the acquisition of the electoral dignity was no longer in the field. But Tilly and Pappenheim, at the head of a vast, hardy, lawless, and supposed invincible army, were completing the measure of their cruelties and exactions, under the pretext of enforcing the emperor's edict of restitution, which had just been made public.



25 Ferdinand of Gratz, who now filled the imperial throne, was a prince of the most inflexible haughtiness and severity. He was by nature totally averse <sup>Stolz</sup> to mercy, and his natural disposition was increased by his blind and excessive bigotry. He was accustomed to say, that "if he were to meet an angel and a priest by the way, the priest should receive his first act of reverence, and the angel his second." From such a monk-ridden sovereign of the seventeenth century nothing was to be expected by the Protestant part of Germany but the harshest measures. For, according to Ferdinand's ideas respecting the persecution of heretics, the end was sure to sanctify the means, whatever they might be. No sooner <sup>heiligen</sup> therefore had his generals and troops reinstated his affairs, and given him the decided ascendancy over his enemies, than he put forth in the year 1629, the celebrated Act of Re-<sup>Uebergewicht</sup>stitution. <sup>herausgegeben</sup> By this act Ferdinand decided, that "all seizures of ecclesiastical property, mediate or im-<sup>Einziehung</sup>mediate, made by the Protestants since the epoch of the peace of religion, was contrary to the sense of that peace, and was to be considered as an infraction of the same." The edict also declared, that the Catholic princes were obliged to nothing <sup>Verletzung</sup> <sup>verpflichtet</sup>



by the said peace but to allow to their Protestant subjects the power of leaving their territories. These, and various other equally vexatious clauses, were ordered to be forthwith carried into execution <sup>beschwerlich</sup> by the imperial troops. <sup>unverzüglich</sup> These measures affected, <sup>berühren</sup> more or less, all the Protestant princes, whose revenues were, in a great degree, drawn from the confiscated property of the Catholic Church; but so low was the courage of the Protestants of Germany sunk at this time, that neither the injuries they were about to suffer, nor the total illegality <sup>Gesekwidrigkeit</sup> of the whole proceeding, could rouse <sup>aufreihen</sup> them to resistance.

This was the moment fixed upon by Gustavus 26 for his expedition. Fifteen thousand men were all that the king intended to take with him — they were embarked on board two hundred transports, and were accompanied by a fleet of thirty ships of war. On the 20th of May, 1630, all the necessary preparations were made—and the king, having appointed a regency, and regulated all his affairs like a dying man, took leave of the States of the kingdom, who were assembled at Stockholm to receive his solemn adieu. Upon this occasion he held his daughter Christina, then four years old



in his arms; and having presented her to the assembly as their future sovereign, he bid them farewell in the following touching address; which affected alike the monarch who delivered, and the people who heard it. <sup>vertrauen</sup>

27

“It is not with undue levity <sup>Leichtfinn</sup> that I am about to precipitate myself, as well as you all, in a new war, <sup>hineinstürzen</sup> and one of so perilous a nature. The Almighty God is my witness that I do not fight for my own pleasure. The emperor has offended me in the most cruel manner in the person of my ambassadors, he has assisted my enemies, and he persecutes my friends and brothers—he tramples under foot my religion, and stretches out his hand to take my crown. The oppressed States of Germany urgently implore assistance, and, if it so pleases God, we will afford it to them.

28

“I know well the perils to which my life will be exposed. I shall never avoid them, and I shall hardly escape them all. Thus far, it is true, the Almighty has preserved me in a wonderful manner, but I shall nevertheless end by dying in the defence of my country. I commend you to the protection of heaven. Be just and honest—let



your conduct be irreproachable—and we may yet meet again in eternity.

“Senators, I address myself first to you. May <sup>29</sup> God enlighten you, and fill you with his wisdom, in order that by your counsels you may always diffuse happiness over my kingdom. You, brave nobility, I recommend to the Divine protection. May every one recognise in you the descendants of those valiant Goths, who destroyed ancient Rome. You ministers of the Gospel, I exhort to gentleness and concord; may you be yourselves the models and examples of the virtues you preach, and may you never abuse the power you have over the hearts of my people. For you, deputies of the burghers, and of the inhabitants of the country, I implore the benedictions of heaven; may a rich harvest recompense your labours! may your granaries be filled! may you enjoy abundance in all the gifts of life! For you all, whether present or absent, I address to heaven my sincerest prayers. I hereby offer you an affectionate adieu—an adieu perhaps for ever.”

On the 24th of June, 1630, Gustavus arrived <sup>30</sup> at the island of Rugen, on the coast of Pomerania.



He leaped first on the German shore, and falling on his knees, offered thanks to the Almighty for the preservation of his fleet. His troops he disembarked on the neighbouring islands of Wollin and Usedom: then, without allowing the imperialists to recover from their surprise, he marched forward through the country: the garrisons of the different towns and strong places flying at his approach. His first halt was before Stettin, where the duke of Pomerania, Bogislas the Fourteenth, a weak and feeble prince, endeavoured from fear of the emperor to prevent his entrance. But, as a present force has always more influence over a timid mind than an absent one, Gustavus soon overcame his scruples; placed a garrison in Stettin: and made an alliance with its sovereign. From this moment his course was a series of triumphs — the fortresses and towns of Pomerania submitted to him as soon as he approached them. From this duchy he proceeded with a like success through that of Mecklenburg; and while the courtiers of Ferdinand at Vienna were calling him in contempt “The King of Snow,” who would melt away as he approached the south, Gustavus was already in possession of two important provinces of Germany. Meanwhile



his army was soon doubled by the reinforcements of men and officers, which daily crowded to his standards. Wherever he turned his steps <sup>sich drängten</sup> he was received with joy and gratitude as a deliverer. What added to the joy of the Germans at the arrival of the king of Sweden, was the difference of the conduct of his troops, from those of the imperial armies, by whom they had previously been afflicted. In the latter, every lawless excess was <sup>ängstigen</sup> tolerated, every unjust exaction <sup>Ausschweifung</sup> encouraged—and <sup>dulden</sup> their march was marked, in the territories of allies as well as of enemies, by burning villages, ravaged <sup>verheert</sup> country and slaughtered peasants. The licentious-<sup>Sügellosigkeit</sup>ness and cruelty of the soldiers knew no bounds. In the army of Gustavus on the other hand every <sup>im Gegentheil</sup> fault was punished with severity; but more particularly blasphemy, stealing, gambling, and fighting <sup>Gotteslästerung</sup> duels. <sup>Spiel</sup> Simplicity also of manners and habits, was commanded by the military laws of Sweden; and in the whole camp, and even in the king's tent, there was neither silver nor gold plate. The eye of the sovereign observed as carefully the morals of his troops as their bravery. Every regiment was obliged to form itself in a circle round its chaplain for morning and evening prayers; and



this pious act was then performed in the open  
 air.<sup>10</sup>  
Himmel

unter freiem

34 Upon the advance of Gustavus, Torquato Conti, the emperor's general, was obliged to retreat. The Swedish monarch, having obtained possession of all the strong places in Pomerania, entered the electorate of Brandenburg; which Tilly, who had arrived there with an army of fresh troops, after a short time evacuated, and retired upon the Elbe, for the purpose of besieging Magdeburg. His retreat was followed by the capture of Francfort on the Oder, which was taken by assault by the Swedes, after a siege of three days, although defended by a garrison of eight thousand men. These successes excited great alarm in the court of Vienna; which was increased by the refusal of Gustavus to admit of a suspension of arms for the purpose of allowing the soldiers of Conti and Tilly to go into winter quarters. Gustavus replied to the request by saying, that "The Swedes were equally soldiers in winter as in summer; and had the intention of being a burthen upon the unhappy cultivator no longer than was necessary. The im-

<sup>10</sup> Schillers History of the Thirty Years' War.



perial troops might therefore do what they liked, but the Swedes were decided not to remain in inaction. Nor was this a vain boast, for to men <sup>Unthätigkeit</sup> born almost under the frozen zone, <sup>Prahleret</sup> the winters of Germany were no disadvantage.

32

The career of Gustavus in Germany had been commenced without allies: the protestant princes of the empire, doubtful of the issue of the contest, and afraid of the fierce resentment of the emperor, held back from joining him. But as his successes became more numerous and considerable, and as the insolence and harshness of Ferdinand towards them <sup>Uebermuth</sup> rather increased <sup>Härte</sup> than diminished, they began to look with a more favourable eye upon their deliverer. Early in the year 1631, Gustavus concluded an alliance with France, by which this power engaged itself to afford an annual subsidy to the Swedish king of four hundred thousand crowns, provided he on his part kept an army on foot in the empire of thirty thousand men. The news of this treaty induced some of the German princes to join him openly, while the others favoured him in secret. It had also the effect of rendering the remonstrances of the convention of Protestant princes which was now holding at Leipsick, to the



emperor more bold and energetic than they would otherwise have been.

33 Meanwhile the siege of the rich city of Magdeburg proceeded — It was attacked at the same time by the troops under the command of Count Pappenheim, and those which followed the orders of Tilly. On the other hand the citizens, under the command of their magistrates, and assisted by the concils, and exertions of Christian William, administrator of the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, and of Dietrich de Falkenberg, an officer of merit and experience, sent to them by Gustavus Adolphus, made a vigorous resistance. For some time they defended themselves with considerable advantage, and were successful in several vigorous sorties they made against their assailants; but by degrees, famine, and their labours, cruelly diminished their numbers; and at length their powder was expended. Nothing now remained for them, but the hope of being relieved by Gustavus: when, one night, a general assault was made upon them, at the moment when they least expected it; and the imperial troops were in the middle of the town, before the inhabitants were aware of their approach. Magdeburg was now lost; and here



commenced a scene of horror and cruelty, which has for ever disgraced the name of the general, who permitted, and even encouraged it. History offers happily but few instances of such butchery.

Infancy, decrepitude, youth, <sup>Beispiel</sup> station, beauty, were not able to <sup>hohes Alter</sup> disarm the fury of the victors. The

Croatians took pleasure in throwing children into the flames of the burning houses; while the Walloons of Pappenheim preferred piercing them upon the breast of their mothers. Some of the officers,

revolted at such a spectacle, represented to Tilly that <sup>empört</sup> he ought to put an end to the massacre—

“Come back again in an hour,” replied <sup>Meserei</sup> the ferocious commander, “then I will see what may be

done. The town must bleed, it has not yet made sufficient expiation. The soldier also must have

something to <sup>Büßung</sup> recompense him for his labours and dangers.” Nothing arrested the crimes and bruta-

lity of the imperial troops, but the fires they had <sup>hemmen</sup> themselves kindled — for a violent wind rising, the

whole town was soon in flames. In less than twelve hours, one of the finest cities in Germany

was a heap of ashes, and *thirty thousand* of its inhabitants had perished by violent deaths. Such

was the sack of Magdeburg, which excited horror



through the whole of the civilized world—and infused the deepest despair into the breasts of the Protestants of Germany. But the latter had, ere long, the superstitious pleasure of thinking they perceived, that good fortune had abandoned those armies, whose hands reeked with the blood of so many thousands of their fellow creatures. Such, indeed, proved to be the fact; the sack of Magdeburg was the last of the emperor's successes.

34 Meanwhile through the whole of Germany there arose a cry of discontent against Gustavus Adolphus, in consequence of his not having rendered assistance to Magdeburg. The universal existence of this feeling obliged Gustavus to present to Europe the motives of his conduct. This document contained a full justification of his absence on this important occasion. He had attacked Landsberg and made himself master of it on the sixteenth of April; when he was informed of the danger that menaced Magdeburg. He immediately determined to march to its relief; but his road lay through the elector of Brandenburg's territories, who had, thus far, refused to make any alliance with him. So far from it, he had, on a recent occasion, opened the gates of his fortress of



Custrin to the imperial troops, while he refused the same to the Swedes. In order, therefore, to secure his rear, he demanded that the fortresses of Custrin <sup>Nachtrag</sup> and Spandau should be delivered into his hands till the siege of Magdeburg was raised. The elector at first refused, and much precious time was lost in the negotiation; but the arrival of Gustavus, before Berlin, at length wrung from its timid sovereign a tardy <sup>Unterhandlung</sup> acquiescence. <sup>abzwingen</sup> The Swedish king placed garrisons in these places; but to arrive at Magdeburg it was still necessary to pass through a portion of the territories of the elector of Saxony. Gustavus, therefore, demanded a passage for his troops, as well as the necessary provisions for them, of this prince, but was refused—and before permission could be obtained, Tilly had been successful; and the ruin of one of the greatest Protestant towns in Germany had been consummated, through the means of the two Protestant <sup>vollzogen</sup> electors.

After this event, George William, the elector <sup>35</sup> of Brandenburg, demanded the restitution of his fortresses, which Gustavus unwillingly <sup>Wiedererstattung</sup> acceded to; but afterwards finding that this feeble prince was only to be acted upon by fear, and not by friendly <sup>beitreten</sup> <sup>einwirken</sup>



proceedings, he appeared again before Berlin, and signified to the elector and his ministers, that <sup>zu verstehen geben</sup> neutrality must now be at an end, and that they must either receive him as a friend or as an enemy. The court of Brandenburg were frightened, and forthwith concluded an alliance with the Swedish monarch, by which they bound themselves to furnish him with a subsidy of thirty thousand crowns a month, and delivered Spandau into his hands. Gustavus now received the agreeable news that Greifswald, the last fortress in the power of the emperor, in the duchy of Pomerania, had been taken, and that consequently the whole of that duchy had returned under the dominion of its rightful sovereign; while at the same time the Czar of Muscovy sent ambassadors to him to assure him of his friendship, and to offer him auxiliary <sup>Hülfsstruppen</sup> troops.

Meanwhile Pappenheim had remained in the territory of Magdeburg, and Tilly made an expedition into the territories of the landgrave, William of Hesse Cassel, who was prepared to defend himself; but was spared the trouble, in consequence of Tilly's being called back by Pappenheim to check the progress of the king of Sweden. He <sup>kommen</sup>



found that sovereign in a fortified camp, near Werben, on the Elbe; from whence he found it impossible to drive him, or to induce him to come out to battle. In partial skirmishes, however, which took place, the Swedes had always the advantage; while the desertions from the imperial army to that of Gustavus <sup>das Ueberlaufen</sup> became very numerous. During this interval, the general Tott, at the head of a Swedish army, had obtained possession of the whole of Mecklenburgh, with the exception of a fortresses; and Gustavus went himself to Rostock, in order to have the pleasure of restoring to the sovereigns of Schwerin and Strelitz <sup>wiedergeben</sup> their territories. The two dukes made a solemn entry into the town, with their deliverer <sup>feierlicher Einzug</sup> between them, followed by an applauding multitude of nobles and people. On his return to his camp, Gustavus found the landgrave of Hesse Cassel there, who was come to offer to enter into an alliance with him.

Shortly after this, the vacillating John George, <sup>schwankend</sup> 37 elector of Saxony, was also driven by the injudicious and ill-timed threats of Tilly from his <sup>unüberlegt</sup> neutrality, and <sup>unzeitig</sup> induced to throw himself into the arms of Gustavus Adolphus. At first, to try his new ally, Gustavus talked of imposing harsh conditions <sup>auflegen</sup>



upon him; but no sooner were they acceded to, than he withdrew his pretensions, and only demanded a month's pay for his troops. Immediately upon the signature of the treaty with Saxony Gustavus passed the Elbe, and joined his troops to those of the elector, commanded by his favourite, the marshal Arnheim. Tilly, baffled in his attempt to bully the elector of Saxony, determined to make him suffer for his boldness. He therefore advanced against Leipsick, of which town he very soon obtained possession; while the king of Sweden and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg were holding a council of war at Torgau, to consider whether it would be better or not to risk a battle with the imperial forces. Gustavus with the modesty of a real hero expressed his doubts and fears—"If we decide upon a battle," said he, "it is a question of nothing less than a crown and two electorates. Fortune is inconstant; and heaven impenetrable in its decrees, may perhaps on account of our sins accord the victory to our enemies." The electors on the other hand felt the boldness of ignorance—finally however the king coincided in their opinions, and a battle was resolved upon. The elector of Brandenburg returned into his own territories,



and the united army of the Swedes and Saxons passed the Mulda, and advanced towards that of Tilly, encamped near Leipsick, on the side of the great plain of Breitenfeld.

38

On the 7th of September, the two armies were in presence. Tilly was inclined to avoid the combat, but was drawn into it, partly by the <sup>ausweichen</sup> persuasions of Pappenheim, and partly by the ardour of the same general, who began a skirmish <sup>Site</sup> with the Swedish advanced guard. The imperialists were drawn out upon the <sup>Vortrab</sup> heights over the plain of <sup>aufgestellt</sup> Breitenfeld; the Swedish forces, opposite to them, <sup>Anhöhe</sup> were arranged according to the new method of tactics invented by their sovereign; and the Saxons were drawn up in a separate body at some distance from their allies. General Teufel commanded the centre, Gustavus Horn the left wing, and the king himself the right wing, which was opposed to the troops of Pappenheim. The evening before the battle Gustavus told his troops, that they were the next day to fight with men of a different kind from Poles and Cossacks. "My friends," said he, "I shall not <sup>verdecken</sup> dissemble the danger to you—you will have a day's work that is worthy of you. It is not my wish to diminish the merit of veteran

<sup>schmählern</sup>



troops like the imperialists; but I know my officers thoroughly, and therefore will not deceive them. I foresee too that our numbers will prove to be inferior to those of the enemy; but, <sup>ausfallen</sup> my friends, <sup>geringer</sup> God ist just—and remember Magdeburg.”

39 The battle commenced with a heavy cannonade of two hours. At length Tilly came down from the heights, and hazarded the first attack. He was received with so tremendous a fire by the Swedes, that he thought it better to turn short to the right, and charge the Saxon troops. The latter gave way at the first shock, and fled in great disorder, with the exception of a few regiments who did their duty. The elector himself was so much frightened, that he never stopped till he got to Eilenburg, on the Mulda. This success occasioned the sending off of couriers to Vienna and Munich with the news of a victory. But in the meanwhile Gustavus, with his right wing, had sustained seven different attacks from Pappenheim, and <sup>aushalten</sup> had finally obliged that general to retreat with great loss, then flew to the assistance of his left wing, attacked by Tilly: repelled the imperialists; and, taking possession of their artillery, turned it against themselves. The victory was now gained, and the



enemy fled on all sides, leaving in the hands of the Swedes their camp, their artillery, above a hundred standards, and seven thousand killed on the field of battle; besides the numbers who perished by the swords of the pursuing cavalry, or fell a sacrifice to the vengeance of the peasants of the neighbourhood. As, in these times, an army was mainly composed of mercenaries, a defeat of this sort had also the effect of causing the most rapid desertion; for no troops of this kind would naturally remain with an unsuccessful leader. Consequently Tilly in his flight towards Halle and Halberstadt could only succeed in reassembling six hundred men, and Pappenheim fourteen hundred. Thus disappeared at once the terrible army, which had been so short a time before the scourge of Germany. The Swedes lost seven hundred men in the battle, and the Saxons two thousand. Gustavus Adolphus, immediately after the contest, threw himself on his knees on the field of battle, and offered up his thanks-givings to the Almighty. The first consequence of the victory of Breitenfeld was, the taking of Leipsick, Halle and Mersebourg. The elector of Saxony rejoined the king after the battle, who received him kindly, and, without



adverting to his flight, only thanked him for having <sup>hindeuten</sup> advised the battle. The elector, in his gratitude, promised to make him king of the Romans. The two sovereigns now agreed that the elector with his troops should undertake the conquest of Bohemia, while Gustavus should direct his march through the territories of the Catholic princes and Franconia to the Rhine.

40 The rapidity of the conquests of Gustavus, in the triumphal progress which he now made through Germany, partakes almost of the nature of the fabulous; but it must be remembered, that, in addition to his own merits and those of his troops, his enemies were fear-stricken to the greatest degree; whilst numerous allies, <sup>von Schrecken ergriffen</sup> who had hitherto held back from joining him, were now too happy to purchase his favour by submission. Erfurt was the first important place in his march of which Gustavus obtained possession. He then overran the rich bishoprick of Wurzburg. At first the approach of the Swedes excited great terror. As Schiller observes, when speaking of the bishops of Bamberg and Wurzburg—"They dreaded the being compelled to endure from another, those cruelties, which if they had had the opportunity, they felt



capable of inflicting themselves." But the moderation of Gustavus, <sup>zufügen</sup> and the good discipline of his soldiers, soon put an end to these fears.

Tilly, reinforced by the imperial garrisons of <sup>verstärkt</sup> Lower Saxony, had collected another army, at the head of which he was very anxious once more to measure himself with the Swedish monarch, and to try to recover his lost glory. But the elector of Bavaria, who felt that, if this army was destroyed, no other hope of safety remained to the Catholics, forbid him to hazard a battle. Tilly was therefore obliged to confine himself to watching the progress of Gustavus, and endeavouring, <sup>belauschen</sup> wherever he could, to foil his enterprises. He could not however prevent <sup>vereiteln</sup> one of the Swedish generals from taking possession of Hanau; and another from laying waste the territories of the bishop of Bamberg, <sup>verwüsten</sup> who had shown much bad faith towards his master. During his stay in <sup>schlecht Wort gehalten</sup> these parts of the country, Gustavus put to flight an army of seventeen thousand men, commanded by the restless Charles, duke of Lorraine, who, instead of defending his own territories against the French, had entered upon this Quixotic expedition against the Swedes. At the first approach of the cavalry of the latter



the Lorrainers fled beyond the Rhine, followed by their duke, who endeavoured by the most humble excuses to Gustavus to palliate his behaviour. <sup>beschönigen</sup> Wherever he passed, he was met with the ridicule due to his inglorious expedition—and it is said that a peasant in a village near the Rhine even ventured to give a blow to his horse—saying at the same time—“You must go quicker, Sir, when you are running away from the great king of Sweden!”

42 Gustavus had not occupied more time in the conquest of the circle of Franconia than was necessary to march through it<sup>11</sup>. He left Gustavus Horn to secure his conquests, while he advanced to fresh ones on the Rhine. During this period the allies of the Swedes had not been inactive. Lower Saxony had risen against the emperor; whose troops also abandoned the fortresses of Mecklenburg, which still remained in their hands. In Westphalia, and the Lower Rhine, the Landgrave William of Hesse; in Thuringia the duke Bernard of Weimar;

<sup>11</sup> It was said of him “that he had conquered the first circle of the empire before the expresses which were sent to give notice of his eruption into it, had had time to reach Vienna.”



and in the Electorate of Treves, the French generals obtained considerable successes' In the east, the kingdom of Bohemia had fallen into the hands of the Saxons, the Turks were preparing an attack upon Hungary, and internal discontent was busy in the very heart of the Austrian dominions.

Gustavus marched forward to Frankfort, which <sup>43</sup> important town after some demur, submitted to receive him and his troops. <sup>Auffhub</sup> The same day his troops took the town of Hœcst, in the electorate of Mayence. At Frankfort several princes and ambassadors met Gustavus, with propositions for entering into treaties of alliance with him; among others, the unhappy Elector Palatine Frederick, who was received kindly by the Swedish monarch; and the Landgrave George of Hesse Darmstadt, who had hitherto been an unworthy spy and pensioner of the emperor, but who was now terrified into the course he ought originally <sup>ursprünglich</sup> to have adopted. Even this personage was received with civility by Gustavus — but when he won the money of this prince at play, Gustavus could not help saying, "that it gave him double pleasure to win of him, because he was paid in the emperor's money." Gustavus was soon master of the course



of the Main, and was preparing to pass the Rhine for the purpose of attacking Mayence, when he was called away by the approach of Tilly to Nuremberg, which city he threatened, in case of resistance, with the fate of Magdeburg. The Swedish monarch advanced, by forced marches, to succour this important place, but he had hardly arrived at Frankfort, when he heard of the successful defence of the inhabitants, and the retreat of Tilly. Upon this he turned back to pursue his projects against Mayence—and having taken his road through the Bergstrasse, he passed the Rhine near Stockstadt, in spite of all the endeavours of a Spanish body of troops on the western bank of the river to prevent him. The Spaniards lost six hundred men in the combat, and then fled to Mayence and Oppenheim. A marble lion upon the top of a high column, with a sword in its right paw, and a helmet on its head, marked, till the beginning of the eighteenth century, the spot where the great Gustavus passed the river.

44 On the 8th of December Gustavus obtained possession of Oppenheim, after a vigorous resistance on the part of the besieged; and then marched against Mayence, which was simultaneously attacked

*gleichzeitig*



from the other side of the river by the Landgrave William of Hesse. The Spanish garrison defended themselves with bravery, but the inhabitants were so afraid of harsh treatment, if the town was taken by assault, that they obliged them to capitulate on the fourth day of the siege. Gustavus made his public entry into Mayence on the 13th of December. Before the conclusion of the year the country on both sides of the Rhine, nearly as far as Coblenz, had submitted to him. After this glorious campaign Gustavus put his troops for a short time into winter quarters, and established himself at Mayence, which became in consequence the centre of all diplomatic negotiations. The successes of the king of Sweden upon the Rhine had indisposed against him the French court; and <sup>gegen ihn eingenommen</sup> Richelieu, though always intent upon his favourite object, the abasement of Austria, <sup>erpißt</sup> could not view without <sup>Demüthigung</sup> uneasiness so powerful a conqueror approaching the limits of France. His negotiation therefore <sup>Gränzen</sup> tended to draw Gustavus Adolphus back from the Rhine <sup>bezwachte</sup> into the interior of Germany; and circumstances, over which he had no control, obliged the Swedish monarch to take this <sup>Gewalt</sup> line. The cardinal also wished to obtain a neutrality for his <sup>Richtung</sup>



ally, the elector of Bavaria, from the hands of Gustavus Adolphus; and the king was near being persuaded into this measure; but an intercepted letter from the elector to the count de Pappenheim,<sup>aufgefangen</sup> discovering the perfidy of this prince, who only wished to gain time,<sup>Treulosigkeit</sup> occasioned the king of Sweden to break off the negotiation.

45 Meanwhile the emperor was in the lowest state of despondency—without an army—without a general—without<sup>Verzagung</sup> pecuniary resources—deserted by his allies—and invaded even in his hereditary states. In this emergency, he turned his eyes to<sup>anpreisen</sup> Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, the extraordinary man who had formerly commanded his armies with so much success, but whose great power and arrogance had given umbrage to the court of Vienna, and had occasioned his dismissal from his command of generalissimo of the imperial forces.<sup>Entlassung</sup> Wallenstein had remained ever since that moment brooding over his wrongs in his palace at Prague, and waiting for the hour of the emperor's distress to exercise his vengeance.<sup>brüten</sup> In his opinion all the ties of gratitude to his master were at an end, in consequence of the usage he had received. To him at length Ferdinand was obliged to apply;



and to abase the imperial dignity so far, as to become a suppliant to his haughty subject. Wal-  
 lenstein, though <sup>erniedrigen</sup> burning with impatience to take  
 the command offered to him, allowed himself to  
 be implored for nearly two months before he con-  
 sented in any degree to the wishes of his sovereign.  
 After all, he only agreed to take the command  
 offered to him for three months, till he had created  
 an army; which he alone of all men, from his  
 vast riches, the magic of his name, and the num-  
 bers of officers and <sup>Bittender</sup> soldiers already attached to  
 him, could accomplish. Within the time prescribed,  
 he had collected together forty thousand men, and  
 then resigned his command; being well aware, at  
 the same time, that no man could lead or govern  
 this army, so assembled, but himself. He refused  
 to reassume the command of the troops, till he  
 had <sup>wiederauftreten</sup> still farther humbled the emperor, and till he  
 had obtained for himself as generalissimo the most  
 extensive and exorbitant powers that ever had been  
 vested in a subject. <sup>unmäßig</sup> This last scene took place in <sup>Gewalt</sup>  
 the spring of 1632.

The year 1632 began prosperously for the <sup>glücklich</sup> Swedes, for on the first of January, Duke Bernard  
 of Weimar, obtained possession of Manheim; whilst 46



other generals of Gustavus had cleared the whole of the electorate of Mayence of enemies. The king of Sweden had intended to carry the war into the electorate of Treves, but the advance of Tilly in Franconia, obliged him to retrace his steps. Tilly and the Swedish general, Gustavus Horn, whom Gustavus had left at the head of eighteen thousand men, to protect and defend his newly acquired territories of Wurzburg and Bamberg, had had different skirmishes with various success, but without any important results. At length however Tilly succeeded in putting to flight the Swedes under the walls of Bamberg, and the possession of that city rewarded the good fortune of his arms. The approach of Gustavus put a stop to his conquests, and obliged him to retreat. At Altschaffenburg Gustavus held a review of his troops, which, after his junction with Gustavus Horn, Banner, and Duke William of Weimar, amounted to forty thousand men. At Hanau he was met by his queen Eleonora, who had brought him reinforcements from Sweden. The meeting was a touching one; Eleonora threw her arms round him, crying out at the same time, "Now at last the great Gustavus is taken prisoner."



From hence Gustavus advanced to Nuremberg, 47 where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm; and then marched, having taken Donauwerth by the way, to the banks of the Lech, which alone now separated him from the territories of Bavaria. This river, generally an inconsiderable one, was at this time swollen with winter-rains and snow, so as to render it an exceedingly dangerous passage, even if unopposed—but, in addition to <sup>Uebergang</sup> natural obstacles, Gustavus on his arrival found the army of Tilly strongly entrenched on the other side; and that general was <sup>verschanzt</sup> assisted by the presence of the elector of Bavaria, and of the imperial general Altringer. In spite of the advice of many of his generals, Gustavus determined to attempt the passage of the river, on the other side of which the rich plains of Bavaria presented, as the king himself expressed it, “the Land of Promise.” “What,” said he, in answer to the <sup>das gelobte Land</sup> objections urged against the rashness of the attempt by Horn, <sup>Einswürfe</sup> “Have we <sup>Unbesonnenheit</sup> passed the Baltic, and the greatest rivers of Germany, and shall we now renounce our enterprise at the sight of this rivulet the Lech?” He also supported his boldness <sup>Kühnheit</sup> by the maxim he was often <sup>Grundsatz</sup> fond of quoting, that “It was possible to execute <sup>anführen</sup>



many achievements in war, merely because the  
 generality of mankind supposed them impracticable.”

48 On the 5th of April, 1632, having provided  
 all the materials necessary for casting a bridge  
 over the stream, Gustavus commenced the attempt  
 with a tremendous discharge from his artillery,  
 which obliged the enemy to retire from the op-  
 posite bank. He then passed the river himself  
 with a few followers, who entrenched themselves  
 within mounds of earth at the spot where the  
 bridge was to be made. His Finland regiments,  
 who almost all understood the trade of carpenters,  
 then fixed the bridge, protected by the continued  
 discharge of artillery, and concealed by its smoke.  
 A portion of the Swedish infantry now passed  
 rapidly over, while the Finland cavalry, who  
 had found a ford rather higher up the river, pro-  
 ceeded to do the same. The loss of the ene-  
 my had already been considerable, and among  
 the wounded was Tilly, whose thigh had been  
 broken by a cannon ball, of which wound he  
 shortly after died; and Altringer, who had been  
 dangerously wounded in the head. Thus deprived  
 of his generals, the elector of Bavaria, though  
 naturally a brave prince, and safe in the very



strength of his position, determined upon flight. He abandoned his camp during the night, and retired to Ingoldstadt; to which town the wounded Tilly had been carried. The next morning Gustavus caused the rest of his army to cross the river; and when he visited the deserted camp of the Bavarians, and saw its strength, he could not help saying, "If I had been the Bavarian, a ball should have carried off both my beard and my chin, before I would have abandoned such a post, and delivered up my territories to the enemy."

After the victory of the Lech, Gustavus marched 49 to Augsburg, of which city he immediately obtained possession. He was not so fortunate with regard to Ingoldstadt, which he besieged for several days without success, lost many men in the assaults, and very narrowly escaped death himself. For while surveying the fortifications a cannon ball killed his <sup>besichtigen</sup> horse, having in its course knocked down the young Gassion, afterwards a marshal of France, who stood before the king; but without doing him any serious injury; while at the same moment another, more surely aimed, destroyed the young margrave of Baden Durlach, who was <sup>tödtete</sup> at his side. The army of Gustavus now marched



upon Munich, taking possession of all the fortresses by the way. This capital, though dreading the fate of Magdeburgh, opened its gates to the conqueror. But Gustavus's humanity was above this sort of revenge—he thought it sufficient to bring in his train, and as it were in triumph, the unfortunate Elector Palatine into the capital of his most cruel enemy. In Munich Gustavus found a great quantity of artillery, and a considerable quantity of money.

50 Meanwhile the elector of Bavaria had shut himself up in Ratisbon, which city he had taken possession of, in consequence of the dying counsels of the experienced Tilly. Gustavus had hoped by over-running Bavaria, to have drawn the elector to its defence; but the latter had preferred awaiting within the walls of Ratisbon the arrival of Wallenstein, to reinforce him. But Wallenstein who hated the elector, had no intention of saving him or his territories from the Swedes. To excuse his refusal to assist him, he said, that the hereditary dominions of the emperor were the first to be recovered; and to prove his sincerity in this, he commenced, <sup>retten</sup> and soon accomplished the driving of the Saxons out of Bohemia. At length, when no farther subterfuge remained to him, and  
Ausflucht



when Bavaria had been entirely overrun by the Swedish troops, Wallenstein put himself in motion; and effected a junction at Egra with the Bavarian army, which no efforts of Gustavus could prevent. The united armies then marched towards Nuremberg, under the walls of which, strongly entrenched, Gustavus lay with his whole army; determined not to give way. Wallenstein advanced towards him, and reviewed his troops near Neumark. Upon this occasion, he said, in the pride of his heart to those around him—"In four days we shall see whether the king of Sweden or I am to be the master of the world." In spite of this rodomontade, upon his arrival in presence of the Swedes, and their offering him battle, he declined it—and took up his position instead, in a strongly entrenched camp, within view of that of the king of Sweden—and so placed, as to intercept any convoys that might be sent to his enemies from Franconia, Swabia, or Thuringia. But while acting thus, he forgot to provision his own camp, and thus his army was reduced to great want, while that of Gustavus was still in the enjoyment of the resources which the well-stored magazines of the city of Nuremberg afforded. At length however



famine and its constant accompaniment, contagious disorders, began to make great ravages in both camps. This was increased by the arrival of numerous reinforcements to the two armies. In vain did Gustavus endeavour to draw the duke of Friedland out of his entrenchments: the latter, in spite of the partial successes of the Swedish king, could never be provoked into fighting. Upon one occasion the Swedes intercepted a vast convoy of provisions, which was on its way to the camp of Wallenstein, and cut to the pieces the escort which guarded it. They then dispersed with considerable slaughter a detachment which had been sent to meet it, and took general Spar, the commander, prisoner.

51 But, as no insult, and no defeat, could drive Wallenstein from his camp, Gustavus determined at length to attack him in it; and thus to put an end to the miseries which his army, and the people of Nuremberg were alike enduring. With this view, on the 21st of August, the Swedish troops were drawn out in order of battle, and the artillery played upon the enemy's camp. This was repeated the following day, but Wallenstein remained unmoved. At length, on St. Bartholomew's day,



August the 24th, being the 58th day since the king had been in his camp, Gustavus made a fierce attack upon the duke's intrenchments. Six times did Gustavus lead fresh troops on—and six times were they repulsed with tremendous slaughter. At the same time the left wing of the Swedes was engaged with the imperial cavalry, posted in a <sup>Blutbad</sup> wood—<sup>im Gefecht</sup> numbers fell on both sides, and the success remained uncertain. Wallenstein had a horse killed under him; as had also the Duke Bernard of Weimar; and the sole of Gustavus's boot was carried away by a cannon-ball. At length the approach of night put an end alike to the attack and the defence, and the Swedes were obliged to retreat. During that night, and the next morning, the king brought off all his men without loss, though the danger, had the enemy chosen to attack them, was undoubtedly considerable. <sup>für gut gefunden</sup> For a fortnight after this attack the two armies remained in their intrenchments, exposed to all the horrors of famine, each expecting the other to give way first; but at length Gustavus, touched by the universal desolation, and the unmerited sufferings of the inhabitants of Nuremberg, <sup>Elend</sup> determined to put an end to them. On the 8th of September the king broke up his



camp; and four days later Wallenstein did the same, and marched into the bishopric of Bamberg. The king divided his army; one part he destined for the defence of Franconia while the other, commanded by himself, was to be employed in the continuance of his conquests in Bavaria.

52

Subsequently Wallenstein separated himself from the elector of Bavaria, and turned his steps towards Saxony, which country he intended to ravage without pity, in order to frighten its sovereign <sup>verheeren</sup> into an alliance with himself. His first exploit was the taking of Leipsick, from whence he was preparing to march upon Dresden, when the arrival of Gustavus at Erfurt, who had been drawn by his enemy's proceedings from Bavaria, obliged him to retire towards Merseburg, for the purpose of uniting his forces with those of Pappenheim. Gustavus had obtained different advantages over detached parties in the course of his march. At <sup>abgesondert</sup> Erfurt he reviewed his troops; and took leave, for the last time, of his queen, who had come there to meet him. On the 1st of November he was at Naumburg, where the people showed him the greatest honours—fell on their knees, adoring the hero and the deliverer—and fought for the favour of



touching the scabbard of his sword, his boot, or the hem of his garment. The soul of Gustavus was shocked at these profane marks of respect—  
 “Would <sup>nahm Anstoß</sup> not one think,” said he, “that the people take me for a God? Our affairs are in a good state, but I fear lest the vengeance of heaven may punish me for so revolting a homage; and lest it may clearly show <sup>empörend</sup> to this senseless <sup>Suldigung</sup> multitude, all the weakness of my perishable humanity.”

Wallenstein had advanced as far as Weissenfels <sup>hinfällig</sup> 53 to meet the king, and also to prevent him from taking possession of the defiles along the passage of the Saale. But the celerity of the movements of Gustavus got the better <sup>Geschwindigkeit</sup> of the Duke of Friedland in the latter point. Wallenstein now expected to be attacked, but Gustavus showed no inclination to take such a step; on the contrary he seemed disposed to fortify his camp at Naumburg. Deceived by these appearances Wallenstein determined to put his troops into winter quarters, while he sent a detachment under the command of Pappenheim to defend the electorate of Cologne. Hardly however had Gustavus heard of the departure of that general when he suddenly broke up his camp, and marched to attack the enemy, who were now



considerably inferior to him in numbers. Wallenstein sent couriers immediately to recall Pappenheim, and then marched his forces to the plain of Lutzen on the west of Leipsick, by which means he cut off the communication of the Swedes with that town, and prevented their junction with the Saxon army. On the 5th of November Gustavus had defeated the Croatian rear-guard of Wallenstein; <sup>geschlagen</sup> and the same evening he appeared also on the plain of Lutzen, and drew up his army in order of battle, and then waited for daylight to commence the contest.

54 As soon as the morning dawned, Gustavus threw himself on his knees in front of his lines, in <sup>anbrach</sup> which he was followed by the whole army. After reciting some short prayers, they sang two hymns taken from the forty-sixth and sixty-seventh Psalms; and then the king, mounting his horse, rode along the regiments. He was this day clothed in a plain cloth coat with a leather collar; the pain of an old wound making it unpleasant to him to wear a cuirass. His attendants however urged him to put one on, but he only answered them by saying, "The Lord is my armour!" The morning was foggy; this prevented <sup>Rüstung</sup> the troops from engaging



till eleven o'clock; when the mist cleared away, and discovered the Duke of Friedland's army; and the village of Lutzen in flames. In front of the army of Gustavus were some deep ditches, which had been taken possession of by the infantry of Wallenstein; who had also planted artillery on their banks. In spite of these dispositions the attack of the Swedes proved irresistible, the ditches were passed, and the imperial artillery turned against its original possessors. The first brigade of Wallenstein's infantry, and the second had been already beaten, and the third was preparing to fly; when that commander himself appeared, and in an instant rallied his troops. Now began a most furious combat, <sup>wiedersammeln</sup> in which the soldiers engaged one another hand to hand, and the carnage was great. At length the Swedes, fatigued with their labours, <sup>Blutbad</sup> gave way, and retired beyond the ditches; and the Imperialists recovered their cannon.

Meanwhile Gustavus, at the head of his right 55 wing, had beaten the enemies opposed to him; when he heard of the retreat of the other part of his army. He then charged Horn to follow up his victory, and set off at full gallop, followed by a few of his attendants. He passed the ditch, and



directed his course to the part where his troops seemed the most pressed. As he passed rapidly along, a corporal of the Imperialists, observing that every one made way for him, said to a musqueteer near him, "Take aim at that man, he must be a person of consequence." The man fired, and broke the king's arm. In a moment a cry of horror broke from the Swedes, "The king bleeds! the king is wounded!"—It is nothing," replied Gustavus, "follow me;" but overcome with pain, he was obliged to desist, and turning to Francis Albert, duke of Saxe Lauenburg, he entreated him to lead him quietly out of the crowd. They rode away together, and proceeded towards the right wing, in order to arrive at which they were obliged to make a considerable circuit. By the way Gustavus received another ball <sup>Ummweg</sup> in the back, which took away the rest of his strength. "I am a dead man", said he, with a feeble voice, "leave me, and only try to save your own life." At the same time he fell from his horse, and pierced with many wounds, expired in the hands of the Croatians, who were scouring that part of the field. While on the ground, he was asked who he was, and replied boldly, "I am the king of Sweden, and seal with



my blood the Protestant religion, and the liberties of Germany"—a sentence of almost prophetic truth. He then added, in a faltering voice, "Alas, my poor queen!"—and as he <sup>stotend</sup> was expiring he said, "My God! my God!" In an instant his body was stripped; so anxious were the Imperialists to have any trophies <sup>entfleidet</sup> of so great an enemy. <sup>begierig</sup> His leather collar was sent to the emperor—a common soldier seized his sword. His ring and spurs were sold—and Schneberg, a lieutenant in the Imperial army, seized his gold chain, which is still preserved in the family of that officer at Paderborn.

But the king's horse, bathed with blood, and <sup>56</sup> dashing <sup>dahinsprengend</sup> along without his rider, soon discovered to the cavalry the horrible truth of their loss. They instantly rushed forward to obtain possession of his remains; and <sup>sich stürzen</sup> a bloody combat took place around his body. The news of his death, instead of discouraging his army, only excited their fury, and urged them to more desperate deeds of valour. Again <sup>treiben</sup> the ditches were passed and the artillery retaken—the right wing of the Imperialists was routed—and the centre was beginning to give way. The victory of the Swedes seemed inevitable, when at this critical moment Pappenheim appeared. The



order to recall this general had reached him at Halle. His soldiers were engaged in the sack of that town, and he was not therefore able to collect his infantry, and bring them with him; but he instantly set off himself at the head of his cavalry. This apparition re-established the battle; the Swedes were driven back, and the cannon again retaken. But the term of Pappenheim's career was arrived: two musket balls pierced his breast, and he fell, contented, as he said, to die, when he heard that the enemy of his religion had already perished. At the time of his death, though only thirty-five years of age, Pappenheim had the scars of one hundred wounds on his person. After his death, the Imperialists again gave way, and the cannon were again retaken by the Swedes; but nothing could stop the bloody contest but the darkness of night. The Swedes, however, had decidedly the advantage, as they remained possessors of the field of battle (Wallenstein retiring upon Leipsick, and shortly afterwards to Prague), and took possession of all the enemies' artillery.

37 Thus perished in the flower of his age and the zenith of his glory, the great Gustavus; deplored by his followers and friends; and admired



even by his greatest enemies. But though dead, his spirit still seemed to watch over the Swedish arms, and to ensure their success. For sixteen long years did they nobly contend to support the fame they had already won, and to obtain an honourable peace; nor were their efforts vain. Contemporaries were anxious to prove that the king of Sweden had perished by treachery; and they designated Duke Francis Albert of Saxe Lauenburg (a man of bad character, who had served all sides, and all parties, and who on the memorable day of Lutzen, had followed Gustavus like his evil genius, had been with him when he was wounded and when he died), as the author of this execrable treason. But we have no evidence to support this hypothesis; which indeed would appear to have been founded chiefly upon the love of the world for the mysterious and the marvellous.

das Geheimnisvolle

das Wunderbare

“The good fortune, which had never abandoned 58 the king of Sweden during his career,” observes Schiller, “accorded to him also the rare favour of dying in the plenitude of his glory, and in all the purity of his renown. By a premature death, his guardian angel preserved him from the inevitable



lot of humanity; the forgetfulness of modesty in the extreme height of success, and that of justice in the height of power.”  
höchsten Gipfel

59

The same author also thus sketches the salient points of his character — “He was never seduced by the equivocal glory of a conqueror, who lavishes the blood of his people in unjust wars; but a war of justice found him ever disposed to dare greatly. A lively and unaffected piety exalted the courage which animated his great heart. Exempt from the gross incredulity which leaves the fierce movements of the barbarian without restraint; exempt also from the grovelling mummary of a Ferdinand, who humbled himself like a reptile before his superstitions, and trod with disdain upon human nature, which he oppressed, in the excitement of success he was always a man and a Christian, but also in his religion always a hero and a king — supporting like the last of his soldiers all the inconveniences of war — present every where — and forgetting death which surrounded him, he showed himself always in the paths of danger. His natural bravery made him perhaps too often lose sight of what he owed to his situation as



a general; and the death of a simple soldier ended the life of a king!"<sup>12</sup>

"Prodotto fu dalla natura per vivamente rappresentar al mondo l'unica e perfetta idea d'un gran principe!"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Histoire de la Guerre de Trente Ans.

<sup>13</sup> Pietro Pomo—Guerre di Germania.

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# JOHN SOBIESKI,

KING OF POLAND.

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IF a sovereign, who by his personal merits and 60
conduct arrests the ruin of his sinking country,
^{kluge Führung} and places it during his reign in an honoured and
respectable situation, deserves our approbation, let
that praise be given to JOHN SOBIESKI, king of
Poland.

From the time of the death of that able 61
monarch, Stephen Battori, Poland had been gra-
dually declining; worn by enemies without, and
still more by contending factions and her own
vicious constitution within. Battori was succeeded,
^{fehlerhaft} 1586, by three sovereigns of the royal house of
Sweden, and of the race of Vasa. The rule of
these princes over Poland, which extended to a
period of eighty years, was disastrous in the ex-

unglücklich

im höchsten

treme. The reign of the first of these monarchs, ^{Grade} Sigismund the Third, lasted forty-four years, the greater part of which were occupied in bloody civil wars, or in contests with other sovereigns, which were equally unfortunate.

62 Sigismund was succeeded by his eldest son, Wladislaus the Seventh. A prince, superior to his father in every respect, and whose ^{trefflicher} firmness for a time restored peace and tranquillity to Poland. Towards the end of his reign, a civil war was commenced between the Poles and the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who were also subjects of the Polish sceptre. The nobles of Poland and their satellites had barbarously oppressed the Cossacks, who carried their complaints to the Throne of Wladislaus; but the king worn out by premature ^{abgezehrt} infirmities, and occupied by his domestic ^{vorzeitig} grievances ^{Gebrechlichkeit} with his wife Louisa of Gonzaga, afforded them no ^{Beschwerden} redress. At length the Cossacks broke out into ^{Abhülfe} open rebellion; and when, in 1648, Wladislaus sunk into the tomb, he left his country a prey to all the horrors of internal anarchy.

63 He was succeeded, 1648, by his younger brother John Casimir; whose fate was a singular one.

Bred to the church, he was a cardinal at the time of his brother's death; and he abandoned the purple of the church for that of the throne. He shortly afterwards married his brother's widow; whose career was also remarkable. Daughter of the Duke of Nevers, she was educated at the court of France, where she had been beloved by the favourite, Cinq Mars, of whom she retained so tender a recollection, that on her marriage with Wladislaus, King of Poland, she changed her name of Mary, by which her first lover had known her, into Louisa, which she ever afterwards retained. Her influence over her last husband, John Casimir, was unbounded.

The reign of John Casimir was stormy and 64
unfortunate; ruinous to Poland, and discreditable
to its sovereign. He was once driven ^{schimpflich} from his
throne, but recovered it; only however finally to
abdicate it, when he retired to the Abbey of St.
^{niederlegen} Germain des Près, near Paris, which Lewis the Four-
teenth had given him, and where it is said he married
a superannuated beauty of the name of Mary
^{verführte} Mignot, who, born a washer-woman, had been the
wife, first of a lawyer of Grenoble, then of the
Marshal de L'Hopital, and finally of an ex-king of

Poland ¹. Many of the events of the reign of this prince will necessarily be related in the account of the first part of the active life of John Sobieski.

65 John Casimir was succeeded, 1669, by Michael Koributh Wiecnowiecki, the most incapable of sovereigns, whose short reign of four years was full of misery and degradation to Poland, and whose career, had it been ^{Entwürdigung} prolonged, would probably have finally completed the ruin of the republic. His death, and the illustrious qualities of his successor saved ^{vortrefflich} for a time that ill fated land.

66 John Sobieski was the second son of James Sobieski, palatin of Lublin, a man of high birth and considerable attainments; and who, as well as his ancestors, had ^{Talent} fought and bled in the battles of his country. He married Theophila Zolkiewska, grand-daughter of the celebrated Polish general Zolkiewski, who had subdued Muscovy to the dominion of the Poles. John Sobieski was born on the 17th of June, 1629, at his father's castle of Olesko, in the palatinate of Black Russia. His mother was brought to bed of him during the raging of a violent storm, which ^{niederkommen} desolated all that ^{das Toben} ^{verwüsten}

¹ Mémoires de St. Simon.

part of Poland. Theophila Sobieska considered this circumstance as an omen of the brilliant fortune and extraordinary career, which were to be the lot of the new-born babe; and she was encouraged in these dreams by the astrologers, who, as was usual in those times, were consulted upon the nativity of the infant ².

John Sobiesky was a younger son. It appears ⁶⁷ that his elder brother, Mark Sobieski, was the favourite of his mother during their early years. The mildness and docility of the latter were strongly contrasted by the impetuosity of character and firmness of purpose, which early distinguished John.

James ^{Borsak} Sobieski who was a man of taste and ⁶⁸ literature, as well as a brave warrior, devoted himself to the education of his sons; and when he thought them sufficiently advanced to profit by foreign travel, he sent them to France. When he parted from them, he said to them, smiling, "My sons, while you are in France, occupy yourselves only in the acquisition of useful knowledge; as for dancing, you will have plenty of opportunities of learning that from the Tartars!"

² M S. account of the family of Sobieski, by John Sobieski—quoted by Salvandy.

69 In 1664 the young Sobieski's arrived at Paris, and found that city in the midst of the disturbances of the *fronde*. Here they devoted themselves to pleasures and amusements of different kinds, and became so much attached to the place and to the society, that John Sobieski even solicited and obtained permission from his father, to enter one of the regiments of life guards of the infant Lewis the Fourteenth.

70 He subsequently became an admirer of the beautiful duchess of Longueville, the heroine of the *fronde*, and through her means was intimate with her brother the great Condè. After a prolonged residence at Paris the brothers Sobieski visited England, Germany, and Italy; and finally, in 1648, reached Constantinople. Here they were met with the account of the death of their father, and of the king Wladislaus the Seventh, as well as of the alarming insurrection of the Cossacks, which has been already alluded to. These melancholy events determined them to return to their own country, instead of penetrating into Asia, as they had originally intended. On the arrival of the young Sobieski's at Warsaw, they found the new king, John Casimir, elected; but apparently likely soon to

have no kingdom to govern: for the Cossacks had defeated an army of fifty thousand men, which the Polish nobles had raised and led against them, and, assisted by a body of Tartars, whom the Khan had sent to their assistance, they were now rapidly advancing, and laying waste the territories of the republic. verwüsten

Mark Sobieski forthwith joined the army of the nobles in lower Vollhynia; but John was compelled, however unwillingly, to remain at Warsaw, in consequence of a dangerous wound he had received in a duel with a Lithuanian nobleman of name of Paz, with whom he had quarrelled. In the first engagement, which took place between the army of the nobles and the united forces of the Cossacks and Tartars, the former were most signally defeated; and Mark Sobieski, as well as several other Polish nobles, having fallen into the hands of the Tartars, they were barbarously put to death. merkwürdig

This melancholy event made John Sobieski the sole male representative of his house. As soon as he was recovered from the effects of his imprudent duel, he hastened to rally round himself a select body of men, with whom he joined the army of John Casimir; for that prince having been foiled vereiteln

in his attempts to make peace with the hetman of the Cossacks, through the ungovernable conduct of his nobles, was at length obliged ^{unbändig} to place himself at the head of whatever forces he could collect.

73 The Polish army came in sight of that of the Cossacks and Tartars at Zborrow. The aspect of these barbarous and almost innumerable ^{das Ansehen} hordes inspired so much terror to the Polish soldiers, that they mutinied and refused peremptorily to advance ^{sich empören} against the enemy. In vain did the king in person, ^{hartnäckig} as well as the generals under him, strive to restore order. All seemed lost, when the young Sobieski, then only in his twenty-first year, offered and obtained permission to try his powers of persuasion upon the excited multitude. He rushed at once into the midst ^{aufgeregt} of the most factious ^{sich stürzen} among the troops, and by dint of his natural eloquence, and by a judicious mixture of persuasion and intimidation, ^{flug} he succeeded in restoring order ^{Einschüch-} in the ^{terung} camp, and obedience in the soldiers. This remarkable achievement was the first public act of the life of John ^{der} Sobieski. He was rewarded by his grateful sovereign for this service, with the starosty of Jarovow—and the charge of standard-bearer of the crown.

The next day, the two armies met in battle, 74
 and the Poles, overwhelmed and surrounded with
 numbers, were obliged at length to ask peace of
 the rebels. Poland was saved from destruction by
 the moderation of Chmilienski, the leader of the
 Cossacks, who offered terms to John Casimir, which
 the latter could agree to; and by the wisdom of
 the Polish sovereign, who at once accepted them,
 in spite of the murmurs of his insolent nobility,
 who neither knew how to behave with mode-
 ration in prosperity, nor how to yield with judg-
 ment in adversity. übermüthig
nachgeben

The consequence of these erroneous feelings 75
 was the speedy infringement of the treaty, and, in
 1651, the war recommenced again with redoubled
 violence. The contest continued for four years
 with various success. During this time, the Czar
 of Muscovy, Alexis, had ranged himself among the
 enemies of Poland; as had also Charles Gustavus,
 the new king of Sweden, who had just succeeded
 to the throne on the abdication of Christina. As
 the armies of these different enemies advanced into
 Poland, John Casimir was obliged to fly, and to
 seek refuge in the imperial territories; while the

Swedish monarch took possession of the government of the republic.

76 In this moment of adversity, John Sobieski, who had greatly distinguished himself in the defence of his country, was one of the few nobles, who resisted the 'blandishments and offers of the conqueror, and remained firm in his allegiance to his rightful sovereign. At length the oppressions practised by Charles Gustavus upon the Poles roused them to resistance; while the other princes, who had joined in ruining Poland, becoming now alarmed at the power of the Swedish sovereign, withdrew their forces from the contest. John Casimir ^{zogen sich zurück} took this opportunity, 1656, of reappearing in his kingdom, and the nobles, headed by John Sobieski, immediately rallied round him.

77 Sobieski, who had been sent as a hostage to the Khan of the Tartars at the time of the peace of Zborrow, availed himself of his knowledge of the court and character of that prince, to detach him from his alliance with Russia, and to persuade him to send an army to the assistance of Poland, which he even confided to the guidance of Sobieski himself. The first care of this general was to discipline his wild followers; and as soon as he had

effected this, he led them against the king of Sweden, whose progress he stopped, and then defeated a reinforcement of six thousand men, which was advancing to join him. In order to perform this atchievement he and his cavalry were obliged to swim the river Pilcza, then greatly swollen from the melting of the snows.

Charles Gustavus taking advantage of the 78 occupation of Sobieski, now advanced towards Warsaw, under the walls, and for the possession of which town, a battle was fought, which continued for three days, between the Swedish and the Polish troops. In this battle Sobieski and his Tartars greatly distinguished themselves; but victory at length declared for Charles Gustavus, who in consequence entered Warsaw.

His triumph was, however, but of short du- 79 ration, for intelligence reached him soon after this event, that the Danes had taken advantage of his absence to invade his hereditary states. This obliged him to withdraw his troops from Poland in 1657.

The only active enemies that now remained to 80 the republic were Ragotski prince of Transylvania, and Chmilienski and his Cossacks, against whom Lubomirski, lieutenant-general of the Polish army,

and Sobieski at the head his Tartars, forthwith marched. Ragotzki was soon obliged to accept of peace upon terms, which were advantageous to Poland; and the death of Chmilienski, the original author of the troubles, who died of apoplexy, arrested for a time the enterprise of the Cossacks.^{Schlagfluß} The Polish generals also recovered possession of the different fortresses and towns, which had fallen into the hands of the Muscovites during the war; and for a year or two unhappy Poland enjoyed peace without, and some degree at least of tranquillity within.

81 These blessings, however, were not destined to be of long duration. In 1660 the contests of the Poles with the Cossacks and Muscovites recommenced. At first the insurgents obtained advantages; but these were soon overbalanced. They were beaten by Sapieha at Polowka^{aufgewogen}—by Lubomirski at Lubartow—and finally, by Sobieski at Slobodysza, where the rout of the enemies of the republic was complete.^{Niederlage}

82 The military Talent of Sobieski was made peculiarly apparent at Slobodysza; for the Muscovites and Tartars, commanded by Scheremetoff, were entrenched in a camp, on the top of rocky^{verschanzt}

heights, and which was also defended by a numerous train of artillery. Their numbers also amounted to seventy thousand men. In spite of these disadvantageous circumstances Sobieski disposed his troops so judiciously, and led the attack himself with such ^{verständig} gallantry, that Scheremetoff, after a dreadful slaughter of his army, was forced to lay down his arms; and the Cossacks and their chief, the younger Chmilienski, made their submission to Poland.

This victory of Sobieski's ought to have been followed by the most important consequences; but Sobieski was arrested in his glorious career, and compelled to place his troops in winter quarters, by the orders of his superior officer Lubomirski; who, it is said, being deeply engaged in the internal intrigues and discensions of Poland, was anxious to have an army near at hand, which might be made available for his views. At this time one of the principal subjects of discussion, was the nomination of a successor to the throne of Poland, in case of the death of John Casimir. The king, instigated by his wife, wished to nominate a successor; and the prince they had fixed on, was Henry Julius, duke of Enghien, the son of the

great Condé, who was, with this view, to marry the queen's niece, a princess of Bavaria. This project was warmly opposed by Lubomirski, who declared such a proceeding to be contrary to the fundamental laws of the republic.

84 On the other hand, the Emperor Leopold was intriguing among the nobles for the election of an Austrian prince. These proceedings were followed by disturbances in the army, and an act of confederation among the soldiers, by which they bound themselves to resist the election of the French prince, and to effect the removal of various abuses. John Casimir, in hopes of restoring order and discipline, put himself at their head, and marched against Wilna, which was in the possession of the Muscovites; but had been for some time besieged by a detachment of the Polish army. The commandant was obliged to surrender in December, 1661; and John Casimir disgraced himself and his army, by permitting him to be put to death.

85 Sobieski had meanwhile exerted himself greatly to restore discipline to the army, and had even, with this view, joined with some other of the generals in raising on their own account a sum of money, for the purpose of discharging the arrears

aufbringen

bezahlen

rückständigen

of pay, which were due to the soldiers. But the fatal ^{Sold} spirit of insubordination and anarchy, which was the ruin of Poland, had completely taken possession of the troops. They refused to submit to their chiefs, and marched upon Warsaw, where a diet was then sitting, whom it was their intention ^{Reichstag} to intimidate.
^{In Furcht setzen}

At length the diet ³, which had itself been ⁸⁶ stained with bloody combats among its members, broke up, and the troops leaving the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and dispersing into different parties, scoured the country, laying waste the lands of the ^{durchstreifen} clergy, to whose riches they had vowed ^{geschworen} vengeance; while, at the same time, they persecuted and put to death the Socinian heretics, whenever they found them. The nobles ^{Reher} meanwhile had raised an army to defend the king, but they ^{zusammengebracht} were defeated; and anarchy and massacre were at their ^{das Morden} height.
^{den höchsten Punkt erreicht}

Sobieski, during these troubles, remained faith- ⁸⁷ ful to the king; and exerted ^{Unruhen} himself without ceasing to assuage the fury, and to prevent the violences of the different factions. John Casimir, and ^{mildern}

his queen, had taken refuge with him in his starosty of Javorow; from whence they sent plenipotentiaries in 1663, to treat with the insurgents; who were secretly led and encouraged by the grand marshall of the crown Lubomirski. He appears to have wished to dethrone John Casimir, and to place himself at the head of the state; but when the moment for making the attempt came, he grew frightened, and encouraged the army in submitting to the terms offered to them.

88 No sooner was this done, than the court proceeded to take measures, for destroying the power of Lubomirski; but at this the army again revolted. In vain did the king, the queen, and the generals who surrounded them, endeavour to bring them to a sense of their duty. It was reserved for Sobieski to atchieve this work. He had ^{vollen} marched on with the advanced guard; but upon hearing of the renewed tumult, returned. He rushed forward among the factious, waving the standard of Poland; and his ^{Aufrihrer} Personal authority, joined to his energetic eloquence, restored tranquillity to the army. Without ^{wiederherstellen} allowing them time to reflect, he led them on against the Muscovites, who fled before them. The

king continued nominally to command the army, which was in reality led by Sobieski.

That general ⁴ drove the enemies of the re- 89 public before him to the banks of the Borystenes; and in his triumphant course obtained possession of no less than fifty towns. No sooner however had the Polish armies retired, than the enemies reappeared; and as the season was now too much advanced to keep the field, the Muscovites during the winter again overran the territory, which the arms of Sobieski had wrested from them.

During the winter of this year Lubomirski 90 was disgraced; and his office, that of grand marshal ^{fiel in Ungnade} of the crown, the first in Poland, rewarded Sobieski for his services. In the following year he succeeded Czarenski as lieutenant-general of Poland; and he thus became at once the most considerable, as he had before been, the most deserving subject of the Polish crown.

^{verdient}

He quitted his army in May, 1665, and came 91 to Warsaw to receive the batons of office. It was upon this occasion that he saw and admired Mary ^{Stab} Casimire de la Grange d'Arquien, a French lady

of the court, who had come to Poland in the train of the queen; and who was now the widow of ^{Gefolge} Zamoyiski, the palatin of Sandomir. She was the daughter of the marquis, afterwards Cardinal d'Arquien, who had been captain of the guards of Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis the Fourteenth. Madame Zamoyaska was now in her thirty-second year; but she was still in the bloom of her beauty. He demanded her in marriage, ^{Blüthe} and was accepted. They were married on the 5th of July 1665, by the Pope's nuncio, Odesohalchi, afterwards himself Pope, under the name of Innocent the Eleventh, in the presence of the king and queen. The festivities, of a somewhat barbaric though most magnificent character, which followed their union, were interrupted by the news of the advance of the disgraced Lubomirski, who had collected an army of eighteen thousand men, and was employed in laying waste the estate of Zolkiew, belonging to Sobieski.

John Casimir and Sobieski both hastened to their respective posts in the army; but the campaign presented no decisive results. At the end of it Lubomirski opened communications with Sobieski. A truce was in consequence concluded in

1666; by which it was agreed, that an extraordinary diet should be summoned, to decide upon the difference between Lubomirski and his sovereign.^{beruhen} It sat for two months, and was then broken up without result, in consequence of one of its members, Maskowki (who it is said had been bribed by the party of Lubomirski), making use of the *liberum veto* for that purpose.^{bestochen} This absurd custom, which was one of the principal causes of the ruin of Poland, proceeded upon the supposition that the acts of the diet must be unanimous.^{beruhte auf der Voraussetzung} Any one member therefore dissenting from the others, or withdrawing himself from them,^{einmüthig} at once broke up the sittings.^{abweichen} A more ridiculous or more vicious regulation, it is impossible to conceive.^{fehlhaft}

Lubomirski again flew to arms, and John Casimir hastened to put himself at the head of his troops. The two armies met at Moutoy; and the king, contrary to the advice of Sobieski, attacked his enemy, whose position was defended by marshes. The consequence was, that Lubomirski though with inferior forces, obtained a complete victory; and it required all the skill of John Sobieski, to extricate the remains of the royal army from their dangers.^{geringer} He retired in such a manner, as to cover

Warsaw; and then contrived, by judicious manoeuvres, to keep Lubomirski ^{veranstalten} in check: till, tired out with delay, he was willing to consent to an amicable ^{3ögerung} arrangement. ^{Uebereinkunft}

93 A treaty of peace was concluded between John Casimir and Lubomirski—and the latter consented to retire into exile in Silesia; where an attack of ^{sich begeben} apoplexy soon put an end to his stormy career. No sooner were these intestine broils appeased than Sobieski hastened to the frontier, ^{Aufbruch} having united in one army the king's troops and those so lately confederated against him.

94 But the prospect of tranquillity which the death of Lubomirski held out was never realized. The palatins and other nobles of Poland were so irritated against the queen of Poland, for her intrigues to obtain the crown for a French prince, and also against her weak husband for his acquiescence in her wishes, that several of them took up arms ^{Genehmigung} to resist these wild schemes.

95 Meanwhile fresh hordes of Tartars and Cossacks invaded the province of Volhynia ⁵, and though they were driven back by Sobieski, they

threatened fresh irruptions; the Turk being also prepared to join his ^{neu} forces ^{Einfälle} with theirs. With the Muscovites a truce had been concluded; but it was purchased by the cession of the provinces of White and Red Russia, and of the Ukraine.

In the midst of these calamities, the sudden ⁹⁷ death of the queen, who fell down in a fit while walking in her gardens on the banks of the Vistula, completed the misfortunes of John Casimir. Fortunately for himself and for Poland, his weakness threw itself for support entirely on Sobieski. To his office of great marshal, was now added that of great hetman of the crown—two posts, which had never before been held together by one individual—for as the one is the first military office of the state, the other is the first civil one; and thus the possessor of both united was equally powerful both in the palace and in the field.

The Tartars and Cossacks now again occupied ⁹⁸ the province of Volhynia, with an army of eighty thousand men; aided by three thousand Janissaries, the vanguard of two hundred thousand men, which, the ^{Bortrab} grand seignior, and his able vizier Achmet Coprogli, had destined to assist in the conquest of devoted Poland. To resist these gigantic armies

Poland had only twelve thousand men—but then she had Sobieski. As the vice-chancellor of Poland Zaluski said, when the strength of the invading armies, and the weakness of the Polish forces were stated. “Our good fortune has at least given us this hero, who with a handful of men can combat a host of foes. Nothing can daunt his great soul. The treasury is empty; but he supplies ^{erschrecken} money from his own revenues. We have no troops, but he is himself an army. And he overwhelms with debt his own patrimony, in order to bring arms, establish magazines, and enroll an army.”

99

This unbounded confidence in the talents and resources of ^{unbegrenzt} John Sobieski was destined not to deceive those who entertained it. By dint of incredible exertions, and great personal and pecuniary sacrifices, Sobieski contrived to collect together twenty thousand men; and no sooner was this atchieved, than, marching towards the enemy, he ^{vollbracht} took possession of the little town of Podhaica, to which he was obliged to cut his way, through myriads of foes. He fortified himself there, and awaited the approach of the barbarians. His hope was to wear them out by repeated attacks, and thus to suspend ^{aufhalten} their march, and give breathing

time to his country. But he did not expect to escape with life himself.

At this time his wife Mary Casimire was in ¹⁰⁰ France, whither she had gone to visit her relations, and John wrote her a letter, detailing the plan of his almost fabulous campaign. It is recorded in Madame de Sévigné's letters, that the plan was shown to the great Condé for his opinion—who acknowledged in it the noble and patriotic devotion of Sobieski; but thought his fate and that of his ^{Hingebung} country inevitable. What seemed to make the destruction of Sobieski more certain was, that he had left to his cavalry the charge to occupy the hostile armies in front; while he himself with his infantry marched to their rear, with a view of cutting his way through them. He thus therefore found himself, and the devoted band which accom-
^{geweihte Schaar}panied him, entirely separated from all communication with his country. But the fortifications of Podhaica were strong, and the Genius of Sobieski fully comprehended his own situation.

The enemies advanced and attacked Podhaica; ¹⁰¹ but in vain. For sixteen days was the combat continued, during which period multitudes of the assailants found a grave in the trenches of the
^{Angreifer}

place. The people of Poland remained all this time in a frightful state of suspense, offering up prayers in the churches for the apparently almost impossible success of their general; but not taking any effectual steps for their own defence.—John Casimir found himself deserted by his nobles, and without an army. In this state of things, the actual existence of the republic depended solely on the heroic Sobieski, and his handful of men.

102 On the 17th day of the siege of Podhaica, John Sobieski determined on a sortie. His small army was much decreased by its combats; but his cavalry arrived at the time agreed upon, and the neighbouring peasants, irritated by the devastations of the Tartars, and excited with enthusiasm and admiration at the wonderful deeds of the Polish general, joined him in considerable numbers. Even the servants and followers of the camp upon this eventful day, rallied round Sobieski, and formed as it were a second army. Having ranged his troops before their entrenchments, he offered up a prayer to God in their presence, and then gave the signal for attack. The barbarous hordes, worn out by the siege and dispirited by their losses, soon fled, and a dreadful carnage ensued. Sobieski stood on

the field of battle, which Europe had predicted would be his grave and that of Poland, the conqueror in one of the most complete and decisive victories, of which history gives us any intelligence. The chiefs of the Tartars immediately demanded peace, and Sobieski granted it to them as well as to the Cossacks.

At this time Mary Casimire was brought to bed at Paris of her eldest son, the prince James Sobieski; to whom Lewis the Fourteenth, in testimony of admiration at his father's glorious achievements, insisted upon standing godfather.

When Sobieski, having completed his work of pacification, returned to Warsaw ⁶, to render, as he said, an account of his conduct to the nation, the whole diet rose up to receive him; and answered his statement, by acknowledging that he, and he alone, had saved the republic. The discourse of Sobieski upon this remarkable occasion, which was distinguished by its modesty and simplicity, concluded with the following pious sentiments, which in him flowed truly from the heart. "Our successes bear witness indeed of the power

⁶ 1668.

and goodness of God. How can one doubt of his omnipotence, who has been able, with such feeble means, ^{Allmacht} to accomplish such prodigies! He has saved us—may he now vouchsafe ^{Wunderdinge} to grant us moderation, concord, and strength! ^{geruben}”

105 Shortly ^{Eintracht} after these events John Casimir, less capable than ever since the death of his wife of governing or controlling his turbulent subjects, announced his determination ^{im Zaum halten} of ^{stürmisch} abdicating his throne, and retiring into France. After a certain time spent in stormy discussions of the diet, and intrigues of the different factions, ^{Erörterung} John Casimir was at length permitted to depart in peace.

106 Several months of interregnum followed, during which the most disgraceful outrages were committed by the armed parties ^{schändlich} of the different candidates ^{Gewalthätigkeit} for the crown. Sobieski alone remained a stranger to these various intrigues, and strove with all the power which his personal character as well as his great offices gave him, to reestablish order and decency in the diet of election.

107 At length, and partly as it would appear by mistake, a foolish valetudinary descendant of the ancient kings of Poland, ^{kränzlich} Michael Koributh Wiernowiecki was elected, in the midst of tumult and

bloodshed; and Austria hastened to offer to him the archduchess Eleanor as a queen, who had been previously offered to his predecessor. This took place in June 1669—and Sobieski, whose greatness and glory seemed to be irksome to the envious weakness of Michael, soon ^{lästlg} retired disgusted with the court and its intrigues, and again placed himself at the head of his army.

The Cossacks, aware of the intestine divisions ¹⁰⁸ of Poland, again invaded the territories ^{innerlich Spaltung} of the republic ⁷: and again Sobieski, with a handful of troops, ill armed, ill fed, ill clothed, and still worse paid, succeeded in repelling them with great loss, and driving them beyond the Dniester. They became now willing, through the negotiations of Sobieski, to make peace with Poland; but the injudicious haughtiness of the king and his court ^{unverständlich} prevented this, and drove them to take refuge ^{Buflucht} under the protection of the grand seignior. The consequence of this union, was the invasion of Poland by the Tartars, who were sent by the Vizier Coprogli to the assistance of the Cossacks. Again by a series of able manœuvres and daring acts of ^{tübn}

bravery, Sobiesky succeeded, with vastly inferior forces, in delivering Volhynia from the ravages of the horde of savages.

109 While he was thus employed in saving his country, his enemies at the court of Michal, and the monarch himself, who thought his own greatness diminished by the glory of Sobiesky, were bent upon his ruin. They put some Tartar captives to the torture, hoping thus to compel them to confess that Sobieski had himself encouraged their attack upon Poland. These unhappy victims of tyranny could never however be brought thus falsely to calumniate their heroic enemy. Sobieski when he received the account of this disgraceful proceeding, had the royal decree burnt publicly in the midst of his army; and then complained in dignified yet contemptuous language to the diet, of the conduct which had been pursued towards him.

110 This conduct on the part of Michael was followed by his refusal to send reinforcements to Sobieski, or to afford supplies for the fortresses on the frontiers, which were hourly in danger of falling into the hands of the enemies. The noble minded Sobieski bore all these outrages—supplied

what was wanting out of his private revenues—
and determined to fight to the last for his country.

The year 1674, has been called by the name ¹¹¹
of “the Miraculous Campaign” of Sobieski, and
well did it deserve that name; if we consider the
magnitude of his achievements, and the smallness
of his means. Every chance seemed against him,
and yet he came successful out of the struggle.
The Turks had now been for some time making
vast preparations for an attack on Poland; and as
their vanguard, they sent forward myriads of Tar-
tars and Cossacks, who rushed like a torrent, upon
the Polish provinces. ^{sich stürzen}

Sobieski placed himself and his small army ¹¹²
before Kaminiek; then by his rapid movements
and judicious manoeuvres he overcame detached
portions ^{zweckmäßig} of the barbarian bands. ^{schlagen} His successes at
^{abgesonderte Haufen} length terrified them so much, that, though they
^{Horde} had advanced as far as the Vistula, and even
threatened Warsaw, they determined on retreating.
The Polish general pursued them, and whenever
he came up with them, beat and dispersed them.
Not content ^{einholen} with this, he determined to take the
bold and almost rash ^{verwegen} step of pursuing them into
the fortresses of their own country. He traversed ^{durchlaufen}

rapidly Podolia, and entered upon the territories of the Cossacks, territories which no Polish army had trodden for many years. His hardihood and successes had also the effect of restraining^{Rüchtheit} the population of the province of Volhynia from renouncing the sovereignty of Poland, and throwing themselves under the protection of the Turks. As he advanced the towns opened their gates to him; and in a short time he had planted the banner of the republic on its ancient frontiers.

113 But Sobieski was anxious that his conquests should be still more extensive. He wished not only to dictate peace to the Cossacks and Tartars; but also to the haughty Turks. He asked for reinforcements; but was told he could have none, and that he must consider the campaign as finished. Luckily intestine disturbances prevented the Ottomans from continuing their designs for the moment; but disappointment and vexation at the way he was treated^{fehlgeschlagene Hoffnung} brought a severe illness upon Sobieski, during which his life was in great danger. In the meanwhile the injudicious exactions of Michael^{Erpressungen} in the Ukraine again revolted the newly subdued^{erobert.} provinces.

The disgust of the nobles against their weak ¹¹⁴ and mischivous king was now at its height; and they came to the determination to depose him. ^{boshast} They even consulted the emperor Leopold, ^{absehen} who consented to every thing, provided his sister, the wife of Michael, was to become the wife of the new sovereign! What is still more discreditable ^{schimpflich} is, that Eleanor of Austria was also consulted upon the subject, and consented upon the same condition as her brother.

The advice of Sobieski was at length asked; ¹¹⁵ and his wisdom at once saw the advantage which would result to the republic from the deposition of its present sovereign, provided his successor was not also a tool in the hands of the crafty ^{listig} politicians of the house of Austria. He therefore recommended the young Duke of Longueville, a French prince of much promise. The nobles agreed to the choice, and the whole arrangement was in such a state of forwardness, that it had even been made known ^{war schon so weit gesehen} to the diet ⁸, and approved, in the very presence of the wretched Michael: when the whole scheme was put an end to by the death of ^{erbärmlich}

the Duke of Longueville, who was killed at the celebrated passage of the Rhine by the French army ⁹.

116 This event restored the hopes of Michael, who placed himself at the head of an army, composed of the lesser nobility, who had always been favourable to him; and put a price upon the head of Sobieski, whom he accused most unjustly, as having been the chief contriver, in conjunction with Prasmowski, archbishop ^{Urheber} of Gnesna, of the plan for his deposition. When this intelligence was brought to the troops, which Sobieski commanded, their indignation was at its height. They immediately confederated themselves together, and bound themselves by an oath to defend or revenge their general. "I accept your pledges," said Sobieski to them, „but remember the first duty ^{Verpflichtung} I require of you is to save your country."

117 Intelligence had arrived, that the Turks had declared war against Poland, and that the grand seignior, Mahomet the fourth, was leading in person an army of two hundred thousand men against the republic. The Turkish force directed itself against

⁹ June 12, 1672.

the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Kaminiék, before the walls of which, ^{unüberwindlich} it was met and joined by a vast array of Tartars. Sobieski wished to throw succours ^{Heer} into the place; but the governor, a partisan of Michael's, refused to admit them, for fear of increasing the power of Sobieski; ^{Anhänger} and the consequence was, that in a month, this fortress, which was so strong by nature, that it was said of it, "That God alone could have built it—and he alone could take it," was obliged to capitulate.

The army of Michael meanwhile had fled and ¹¹⁸ dispersed themselves, upon the first appearance of danger—Mahomet was advanced to Lember, the capital of the province of Black Russia, and only fifty leagues distant from Warsaw. The terror of Michael was now at its height, and he commenced in consequence a secret negotiation with the Turks, in which he showed himself willing to yield to them whatever they thought proper to ask. Sobieski with his small army was all this time performing wonders. Hearing that the Tartars were retiring through the Carpathian mountains with a vast booty, he followed them, though their forces were nearly thirty times as numerous as his own. He attacked them, when they least expected it, at

Calusz, totally defeated them, and pursued them with such success, that almost the whole horde was destroyed. He had also the satisfaction, by this action, of restoring to liberty no less than thirty thousand Polish prisoners, who were being carried off to Slavery. His next exploit was the attack of the vanguard of the Turkish ^{Großthat} army, consisting of forty thousand men, commanded by the grand seignor, who had encamped themselves at Boudchaz on the frontiers of Lesser Poland and Podolia. Concealing his march, he fell upon them unawares, dispersed them, penetrated even to the ^{unvermuthet} imperial tents, and took possession of the seraglio.

119 The successes of Sobieski were arrested by the painful intelligence of the disgraceful peace, which the king had concluded with the Ottomans, without any authority from the national council; and by which he yielded to them the provinces of Podolia, and the Ukraine, the fortress of Kaminiek, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte. The twelve months which elapsed after this humiliating treaty till the death of Michael, were even more disturbed by intestine broils than the previous part of his reign had been. ^{innerliche Unruhen} The indignation of ^{vorhergehend} the greater nobles on the other side, and the

violences of the lesser gentry, who supported Michael, and who, now they were delivered from foreign foes, thought they might wreak their vengeance on their domestic enemies, occasioned a state of anarchy, which in any other country would have caused a revolution. But the Poles were accustomed to these scenes, and were therefore not liable to be excited by them to that point, which causes the overturn of ancient institutions.

Sobieski remained all this time with his army; from whence he retired, when he thought it safe for himself so to do, to his own estates. Lewis the Fourteenth, at this period, aware how unpleasant must be his situation in his own country, offered him a retreat in France, with the dignity of a *Duché-Pairie*, and the baton of a marshal of France. But Sobieski could not bring himself to abandon his country.

A convocation was summoned in the early part of the year 1673, of the different powers in the state, to endeavour to heal the wounds of the republic; and Sobieski assisted, by means of the negotiations which his influence with all classes enabled him to conduct, to forward a general pacification. In the midst of these patriotic efforts,

he heard that he was publicly accused by certain members of the convocation, who were devoted to the court, of having sold Kaminiek to the Turks, for a bribe of twelve millions of livres. His army, on hearing of this calumny, wished to march upon Warsaw, and take summary vengeance upon the authors of it. Sobieski however succeeded in calming them; and then proceeded himself to Warsaw, accompanied by a great train of nobles.

122

The wretched Michael was obliged to receive the man, whose head he had set at a price, with the greatest honours. The convocation sent to him the humblest messages, requesting him to honour them by taking his place among them. He went, accompanied by an almost regal train, and was received with shouts of applause and enthusiasm. His enemies fled, and the convocation, animated by the patriotism of Sobieski, at once assumed a calm and dignified attitude, and pursued its deliberations to a conclusion without further disturbance. Its most important decisions were, the decree for the formation of an army of sixty thousand men, and the grant of full powers to Sobieski with regard to peace or war.

Michael had thus in fact ceased to reign, all ¹²³ power was divided between the queen Eleanor, and Sobieski. Matters continued thus during the summer; but in the autumn the Porte again put its armies in motion against Poland, in consequence of Michael's not having paid the promised tribute. In the midst of the disturbances and anarchy, which still reigned supreme in Poland, Sobieski again undertook the ^{im höchsten Grade} defence of the republic. With great difficulty he succeeded in bringing his army into the field, in October, 1673.—His plan of campaign was vast, yet simple. It was to march forward against the ^{umfassend} enemies, vanquish them, and drive them out of the territories of the republic.

But fresh difficulties awaited Sobieski. After he ¹²⁴ arrived at the river Dniester, his ill disciplined troops mutinied, and refused to pass it, and to trust themselves in a country swarming with enemies. The eloquence of Sobieski ^{mimmeln} at length prevailed, and the army marched to Kotzim, near which fortress Hussein Pacha was established with his army. This was the spot, in ^{aufgestellt} which, half a century before, James Sobieski, the father of John, had completely defeated the Ottomans; but on that

occasion, he had possessed the fortress and the fortified camp, and the Turks had attacked them; and *now* these were in the hands of the infidels, and his son was with his army in the plain.

25. On the 10th of November, Sobieski attacked the almost impregnable position of the Turks; and at length, after the most heroic display of valour on the part of the Poles, a practicable breach in their intrenchments was effected. ^{angriffsfähig} Night put a stop to the contest; and during it, some thousands of Moldavians and Walachians, who had formed part of the Turkish army, joined that of the Poles. In the course of the night also, a heavy snow storm came on, during which Sobieski was obliged to ^{Schneegestöber} keep his troops under arms. In the morning (Nov. 11), after having devoutly heard mass, he addressed his troops as follows, "Companions, I deliver to you an enemy already half vanquished; *you* have suffered, but the Turks are worn out. These men of Asia have not been able to support ^{abgemattet} the last four and twenty hours. The cold has vanquished them for us. Do not you see them fall in troops, while we are still on our legs, and have still the force to attack them. This is all that is wanting to save the republik from shame

and slavery. Soldiers of Poland, consider that you fight for you country, and that the Saviour of the world fights for his followers.” ^{Heiland}

He then gave the signal for the attack; and, ¹²⁶ with his drawn sabre in his hand, was one of the first to guide his soldiers into the trenches. These were rapidly passed and the cross and the eagle of Poland floated upon the outer ramparts of the Turkish camp. ^{wehte} The Ottomans were terrified, and the more so in consequence of Sobieski's having directed attacks to be made at one and the same time, on various parts of the intrenchments, with a view of distracting them.

The contest ^{verwirren} was now in the midst of the ¹²⁷ camp; but it did not last very long, though the carnage during its continuance was dreadful. Forty thousand Turks, among whom were many pachas and the general in chief Hussein, are said to have perished in this tremendous combat; and the prisoners were also exceedingly numerous. The next day was occupied by the Polish army in the pious duty of burying the dead.

The consequence of this stupendous victory ¹²⁸ was the retreat of the Turkish forces and garrisons ^{erstaunlich} in the neighbourhood; while all Europe rung with ^{erschallen}

the praises of the hero, who delivered Christendom from the terrors, which the previous successes of the Turkish arms had inspired. Sobieski advanced with his army for the purpose of making the most of his advantages, by clearing the usurped provinces, and the left bank ^{fäubern} of the Danube of the infidels.

129 He was arrested in his glorious career by the news of the death of the wretched Michael, which ^{aufgehalten} took place on the 10th of November, the day before the victory of Kotzim. Sobieski would willingly have continued his course of triumph; but his army deserted him. Each palatin and noble was anxious to mingle in the intrigues, which always took place during an interregnum. The army of Lithuania gave the signal for a desertion, and soon Sobieski found himself almost alone. The enemies of the republic immediately began to rally their troops; and the victorious general could do nothing to prevent them. He retired, in the depth of his disappointment at the failure of his hopes, to his estate to Zolkiew, where he was ^{fehlschlagen} detained for some time by the dangerous illness of his wife, who however recovered.

He had determined ¹¹ to remain in his retreat ¹³⁰ during all the period of the diet of election, and thus to keep himself entirely free from the intrigues, to which that assembly always gave birth. Most of the smaller sovereigns of Europe, as well as many of the younger sons or branches of royal houses, were on the ranks as candidates for the throne of Poland. The ^{listen} queen dowager Eleanor, who had still much influence, only sought the election of an unmarried prince, in order that, by marrying him, she might still be queen of Poland. The real contest, was however between the partisans of the emperor and of the king of France. ^{Streit} ^{Anhänger} The power of the former was all concentrated in favour of Charles duke of Lorraine—that of the latter was at first devoted to the election of the duke of Newburgh.

But the people and the diet could no longer ¹³¹ endure the absence of their deliverer, their hero, Sobieski. A request from the diet, that he would honour that assembly with his presence, was sent to him, and at length, in the beginning of May, he arrived at Warsaw. His progress to that capital

was a triumphal procession. When he had taken his place in the diet, he addressed the assembly, described to them the dangers that encompassed Poland, and the necessity that there was for electing a sovereign, who could successfully combat them—^{umgeben} He then touched upon the deficiencies of the candidates already proposed, and concluded by advising the election of the great Condé. At first it seemed as if Condé would be the successful candidate; but fresh intrigues recommenced on the part of the queen Eleanor, and of the Austrian party. Sobieski strove in vain to heal these divisions.

132

^{Brüdespalt.}

At length Stanislaus Jablonowski, palatin of Russia, in an animated and eloquent harangue, proposed as their king, the man to whom they owed their liberty of choice, and the very existence of their country—in a word, John Sobieski. In vain the hero himself objected; the name was received with acclamation, and Sobieski would have been at once elected, had he not protested himself against such precipitation. This took place on the 19th of May, 1674; and that night most of the nobles, and the ambassador of France hastened to the palace of Sobieski, to congratulate him, and

to hail him with the title of majesty. It is said that ^{grüßen} Sobieski was still in the intention of refusing the proffered dignity; but the persuasions of his wife, the ^{angetragen} ambitious Mary de la Grange d'Arquien, at length vanquished his repugnance.

The night of this eventful day was passed in ^{Widerstreben} 133 intrigues and agitations; for the Austrian faction, though worsted, ^{Stürmen} was not yet subdued. The next day, Sunday, ^{schlagen} May 20th, the ^{bezwingen} partisans of the queen dowager endeavoured to arrest the election of Sobieski by a *veto*. They were however ^{hindern} at length made to feel, that the determination of a whole people is not to be baffled by the intrigues of a faction; and on the following day, May 21st, they returned to the assembly, when Sobieski was unanimously elected king of Poland, amidst the shouts and ^{Jauchzen} applause of one hundred thousand spectators.

Mary de la Grange d'Arquin, whose ambitious ^{Ergebenheit} 134 intrigues, and devotion to the interest of France, were destined, during the course of his reign; to injure and annoy in so great a degree her heroic husband, ^{stören} was at the summit of her wishes; and her pleasure was ^{Stupfel} increased by the reflection, that she was the first daughter of a private gentleman, that had ever sat upon the throne of Poland. The

queen dowager, whose determination to continue
verwitwete Königin
 queen of Poland, seems almost to have amounted
 to insanity, continued her intrigues, with a view
Wahnsinn
 of persuading Sobieski to divorce his wife, and to
sich scheiden
 marry her. Such a proposition was indeed made
 to the hero, but he replied indignantly—"If your
 sceptre is only to be sold at that price, you may
 keep it."

135 Other intrigues against Sobieski were attempted,
 but without success; and at length the appalling
erschrecklich
 news of the advance of the Turkish army, put a
 stop to them. The friends of Sobieski wished him
ein Ziel setzen
 to remain for his coronation at Cracow, without
 which his election was not considered complete,
 and without a participation in which ceremony, his
 wife, had he died previously to its being performed,
 would have lost her royalty. But Sobieski replied
Königswürde
 —"I know why the nation has placed me on the
 throne—It was not to represent, but to fight. My
 mission is to wage war against the Turks—that is
Sendung führen
 my watchword as king. Let me first fulfil this,
Losung
 and the fêtes may come afterwards." The diet, to
 reward his patriotic devotion, decreed, that he
Giehung
 should possess all the powers of a king, although
 he had not been crowned.

The immediate effect of the election of John ¹³⁷ Sobieski was profound tranquillity in the interior of Poland and joy throughout Europe, with the sole exception of Vienna. The internal peace of the republic Sobieski confirmed and perpetuated by his admirable conduct; by winning his former enemies with kindnesses; and by striving to put an end to all those feuds, which had so long divided the nobles, and the inhabitants of the different provinces. His principal obstacle in these wise proceedings arose from his queen, whose intrigues, mingled with her womanly feelings of love and hatred, her ambition, her demands for her own family from the court of France, and her selfish views upon almost every subject, early embittered the royalty of John the Third.

The departure of the new sovereign for his ¹³⁸ army was hastened by the news, that the Turks had retaken the fortress of Kotzim; that the grand seignor Mahomet had again assumed the command of his army; and that the united forces of Turks and Tartars, having turned towards the Ukraine, were making considerable progress in that province. At length they reached the fortress of Human; and instead of pursuing their conquests, sat down

before it for a regular siege. As soon as John heard of their decision to waste their time and their troops in besieging Human, ^{verschwenden} he said, "Since they know no better than this, how to the conduct the war, I will engage to give a good account of them before the end of the campaign." ^{Rechnung ablegen} He kept his word. Human was at length taken by assault, and the rest of the Ukraine, with the exception of one or two fortresses, submitted to the Ottomans.

139

The Tartars were soon after this obliged to separate from the Tuks in order to march against the Muscovites, and Sobieski took advantage of this, and of the commencement of cold weather, which was singularly hurtful to the Turkish army, composed mostly of soldiers from the hottest countries, to commence his movements. At his approach the Turks gave way, and fled to Silistria. His course was one ^{weichen} of triumph. The fortresses situated on his line of march opened their gates at the terror of his name; and in a short time the province of the Ukraine again acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic. The Tartars had disappeared, great numbers of the Turks were prisoners, and the Russians and Cossacks made their peace by submission.

It was the plan of the king to keep the field ¹⁴⁰ during the winter, and to strike some decisive blow before the Turks had recovered their panic, which might free the republic for the future from their ^{Schrecken} invasions. But this heroic determination was rendered abortive by the treachery of the great marshal of Lithuania, Michael Paz, one of the bitterest enemies of Sobieski, who upon the plea of the hardships of winter, separated himself and his ^{Bormand} ^{Beschwerde} army from that of the Poles, and prepared to retire into Lithuania. In vain did Sobieski ^{sich anschicken} adjure, implore, and threaten: nothing could move his malicious foe. He set out on his inglorious journey, and John was obliged to put an end to his campaign, and to pursue his retreating troops. When he came up with them, he disgraced them publicly, by compelling them to throw down their arms.

The indignation of Poland, and even of Li- ¹⁴¹thuania, at the conduct of Paz ¹¹, was so universal that the latter became terrified, and was obliged to implore pardon for his crime. The clemency of Sobieski granted it to him, but the evil he had done was irreparable. His conduct had shown to

^{unersehlisch}

¹¹ 1675.

the numerous enemies of Poland, that the intestine divisions of that country continued, and that even the power and great name of Sobieski could not control and vanquish them. This opinion was confirmed and also increased by the diligent malevolence of the intrigues of the Austrian faction, headed by the dowager queen.

Zwiespalt *fortdauern* *beherrschen* *bestärkt* *ämsige Böswilligkeit* *anführen*

The winter passed in doubtful combats along the line of the Borysthenes. As the king could neither procure supplies of money nor troops, he was obliged in the spring to confine himself to a more defensive system of warfare than he had hitherto pursued. He turned every town and nobleman's castle into a fortress, and then placed his army between them in a defensive line, to cover the different provinces. He was also obliged, from the weakness and insufficiency of his forces, to rely more than usual upon political combinations, upon communications with the Tartars, and negotiations with the Muscovites.

Verstärkung *verwandeln* *Unzulänglichkeit* *Streitkräfte*

142 Meanwhile the Turks advanced with a vast army, and took by assault the town of Zbarras, which they pillaged and burnt. The love of plunder of the Ottomans became now the saving principle of Poland; for the Turks allured by the

Sturm *rettend* *anlocken*

booty to be gained in towns, devoted themselves to sieges, instead of advancing ^{sich widmen} against the Polish army. At length they marched towards Lemberg, which alone defended the entry of the Polish provinces, with the intention of encamping under its walls. John, whose activity had been unceasing, and who by means of that activity, had been ^{rafflos} enabled to carry on a very successful partisan warfare, intercepting convoys, routing detachments, and harassing ^{auffangen} the Ottomans at all points, hastened, ^{beunruhigen} when he heard of the movements of the Turkish army, from these lesser duties, to throw himself at the head of about ten thousand men, which was all he could collect, into Lemberg.

The arrival of the Turks was announced ^{antündigen} 143 by the burning of the neighbouring country, and they prepared to entrench themselves in face of the Polish lines, which covered the town. But the Polish king did not give them time to encamp, or to recover themselves from the fatigues of their journey. He had placed his army in various little valleys near the town, which were unapproachable by large bodies; and his troops were ^{unzugänglich} besides defended by redoubts, which connected the lines with the fortifications of Lemberg. As soon as, in

common with his family and with all the people, he had performed his devotions in the church of the Jesuits, he prepared to meet the enemy, who, in comparison with his handful of men, were a countless multitude.

144 The Poles rushed gallantly upon their enemies, repeating through all their ranks, the name of the blessed Redeemer, which John had given them as the watchword. Their attack was assisted by a violent storm of snow and hail, which blew full in the faces of the Ottomans. The king fought like a common soldier; at first his cavalry gave way, upon which he cried out to them, "Pray remember, that I must either die on the spot, or we must be conquerors." Such heroism communicated itself to the breasts of all, and the Turks were vanquished with a vast slaughter. So great was their panic, that the next morning found them at eight leagues distance from Lemberg. This almost miraculous victory astonished Europe even more than the former deeds of Sobieski ¹²

¹² Daleyrac says that the Turkish forces amounted to three hundred thousand men, and those of the Poles only to five thousand. These numbers are evidently

The conclusion of the campaign was as glo-¹⁴⁵
 rious at its commencement; for though the Turks
 obtained possession of Podhaica, and one or two
 other fortresses, John obliged them to raise the
 siege of Trembowla, and then drove them beyond
 not only the Dniester, but also the Pruth and the
 Danube; cutting off many of their straggling de-
 tachments during their retreat. The Tartars also fled
 at the name of Sobieski; and as his lieutenants
 also during this campaign seconded him with vigour
 and courage, by the end of the autumn Poland
 was delivered from her numerous foes.

The senate and the provinces with one accord¹⁴⁶
 sent deputations to their deliverer, to thank him
 for his services, and to request him, now that the
 dangers of the republic were, through his means,
 averted, to come at length and receive the crown,
 which was so justly due to him. In November
 John at length quitted the army, and retired to
 his estate at Zolkiew, where he found the ambas-
 sadors of the prince of Transylvania, of the empe-
 ror.

exaggerations both ways; but the very degree of
 exaggeration proves how wonderful the disproportion
 must have been.

ror, of the kings of England, Sweden, and France, of the elector of Brandenburg, and even of the Sophy of Persia, awaiting his arrival.

147 In February, 1676, John and his queen were crowned at Cracow with all the accustomed ceremonies. It is usual in Poland for the king, as soon as he is crowned, to fill the vacant offices, of which upon this occasion there were no less than one hundred and twenty. John disposed of them in such a manner, as to show that he himself had no recollection of the ancient discords of the republic, and thus, besides universal ^{üblich} applause, he gained the first step towards causing them to be forgotten by others. He then turned the attention of the diet, which, contrary to custom in Polish assemblies, was tranquil in its deliberations, to the discussion of questions of public interest. Several salutary alterations were made in the imposts, and in the ^{heilsam} constitution of the army; and in all the ^{Abgabe} discussions, ^{Einrichtung} which took place upon these and ^{Erörterung} other subjects, John displayed a rare talent of conciliation, and that peculiar mode of persuading others, which always accompanies superior abilities.

148 The grand seignior Mahomet, when he heard of the tranquillity of Poland, of the activity of its

sovereign, and of the Persian embassy to him, became alarmed, and offered terms of peace; but he would only consent to a treaty, which should be advantageous to the Porte, and Sobieski was equally determined only to accept of one that should be so to Poland. The negotiations therefore came to nothing, and the Polish sovereign prepared for another campaign.

His peace of mind was at this time much ¹⁴⁹ disturbed by the differences between his queen and Lewis the Fourteenth. ^{Mißhelligkeit} The latter could not bear to treat as an equal, the daughter of one of his own subjects, and he therefore refused to give the title of majesty, either to Mary Casimire or her husband, upon the plea that the sovereignty of the latter was merely an elective one. This contest for dignity embittered the life of Sobieski, and so ^{durch Wahl} excited the indignation of Mary Casimire, as for ^{Würdenstreit} the moment to loosen the bands of strict alliance, which usually existed between her and her native country.

After great difficulties in collecting troops, ¹⁵⁰ John took the field in September. His army consisted of about ten thousand men, while that of the Ottomans and Tartars counted by hundreds of

thousands. The enemies had planted themselves in the province of Galicia. The first event of the campaign was an engagement between the Tartars and a detachment of the Polish army, in which the latter were a length the victors, and took prisoner the son of the khan of the Tartars.

151 The next day John offered battle to the Turkish forces; but they declined the combat, and preferred besieging the king with his handful of men in his camp of Zuranow, which he had fortified. For twenty days the king remained besieged, and the terrors of his subjects at his precarious situation, and their prayers for his delivery, were unceasing.

152 One day a portion of the Polish army, in the ardour of pursuit of a detachment of Tartars, allowed themselves to be drawn onward, till they were attacked by the Turks—the Polish generals with fresh reinforcements were obliged to fly to their aid, and finally the king himself advanced to disengage them. The sight of the hero struck a panic into the hearts of the Ottomans, they fled, and were cut to pieces by thousands; and Sobieski, after spiking and destroying much of their artillery, withdrew his victorious troops to the shelter of their own batteries. Upon this occasion the king's

Italian secretary the Abbé Brunetti was killed at his side, and he himself had his horse wounded. Upon another occasion the Poles made a successful sortie, and destroyed the works which the Turks had made, with the view of bringing their artillery to bear against them.

^{spielen lassen} At length the Turkish and Tartar generals ¹⁵³ determined by one general attack to annihilate this handful of men, who dared to resist them; ^{vernichten} but again the genius and valour of Sobieski triumphed over numbers, and over disaffection and discouragement in his own camp. ^{Abneigung} The Turks were driven ^{Entmuthigung} back with great loss. After two days interval, another tremendous combat was commenced. Finally on the 14th of October, just as John had given orders for another combat, from the effects of which nothing short of a miracle could have ^{nichts als} saved either him or his enfeebled army, propositions of peace were made by the Turks; and as they were honourable to Poland, they were almost immediately accepted.

Various reasons have been assigned for the ¹⁵⁴ conduct of the Turks, in thus allowing their greatest enemy to escape them at the moment, when he seemed actually in their power—such as fear of ^{angegeben}

reinforcements arriving to the Poles—bribery, disaffection and discord in their own camp. ^{Bestechung} It is impossible at this distance of time to decide, which were the true ones; but their decision saved Poland. The difficulties and anxieties, which Sobieski had endured during the last week of his captivity in the camp of Zuranow, almost exceed belief; and the joy therefore, with which he at once saw himself, his army, and his country delivered from the perils which beset them, ^{bedrängen} may the more easily be conceived.

155 Of all its conquests during the war, the Porte retained nothing but a portion of the Ukraine, and the fortress of Kaminiek; while all the disgraceful conditions of the treaty of Boudchaz ^{schimpflich} were annulled. The piety of John led him, among other stipulations, to require of the Porte, that the cave of the sacred Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and the birthplace of our Saviour at Bethlehem, should be again confided to the religious orders, who had been deprived of this office by the infidels. The other catholic princes of Europe had in vain endeavoured bring the Porte to agree to this arrangement. It was reserved for Sobieski to accomplish it. ^{vorbehalten} The hero retired to his estate of Zolkiew, ^{vollenden}

which became the centre of European negotiations and intrigues.

From 1676 to 1683, Poland, under the wise ¹⁵⁶ and beneficent rule of its sovereign, enjoyed a degree of internal and external tranquillity, with which it had been previously unacquainted. It is not to be supposed, that this period was entirely free from disturbance; but it was comparatively so. The diets were still stormy; and occasional quarrels between the nobles occasioned some bloodshed. But John in all these cases interfered promptly, and his authority as sovereign joined with his great reputation, gave him so much weight, that he was generally able to appease differences in their commencement, which if they had been allowed to continue, might have extended into general anarchy.

The constant efforts of John, during these ¹⁵⁷ years of peace, were also employed in ameliorations of the state of the people; in the encouragement of agriculture, and manufactures; in the rebuilding of towns, which had been destroyed during the previous wars, and in the improvement of others; and in the general benefiting of his territories by regulations and laws, which were suited to the habits and wants of his subjects. His leisure hours

^{Berfügung}
Gewohnheit

^{Bedürfnis}

were still devoted to literature, and to the patronage of the fine arts, which he loved. These ^{Beschützung} moments of relaxation were however frequently embittered by the ^{Erholung} ambitious intrigues, and political meddling ^{Einmischung} of Mary Casimire.

158 During this time, a great change took place in the external policy of Poland. John had remained firm to the alliance of Lewis the Fourteenth, in spite of the squabbles, which the miserable ^{das Geiz} pride and vanity of that sovereign, opposed to the ambitious ^{abgünstig} views of the queen of Poland, had occasioned. But at length, when Sobieski found that the French monarch, so far from assisting Poland against the Porte, was disposed to favour the latter power, and even to encourage it in its attempts against Christendom, he was obliged to make common cause with the court of Vienna.

159 He first endeavoured, in the year 1679, to form a union of the Christian nations of Europe against the infidels. But this new crusade failed, from the timidity and the discords of the different powers. As, however, the preparations of the court of Constantinople continued, and it was not known on whom the storm would burst, Sobieski, always ^{ausbrechen} active and always attentive, prepared himself for

the worst, as well as the lukewarmness of his neighbours, and the difficulties ^{Kaltfinn} he encountered in his own diets would permit.

But it was not against Poland, that the Turkish ¹⁶⁰ armaments were intended. In spite of the insolence of the ^{Kriegsrüstung} ministers of the Porte towards the Polish ambassador, that power was still too much afraid of the name of John Sobieski to venture to measure swords with him. It was against the domination of Austria, that the myriads of Turkish soldiers were now destined to act. The empire and the hereditary states of Austria were at present governed by Leopold the Second, one of the most contemptible and hateful of his race. Barbarously cruel and tyrannical in prosperity, perfidious in negotiation, timid and pusillanimous in adversity; he seemed to unite all the ^{feinmüthig} qualities that constitute a bad sovereign.

In October, 1682, after having vainly made ¹⁶¹ the most abject submissions to the infidels, Leopold at length ^{kriechend} ascertained that the Turkish forces were ^{mit Gewißheit erfahren} preparing to march towards Vienna. His first step, upon hearing this disasterous intelligence, was to implore the assistance of John Sobieski; ^{traurige Nachricht} and that monarch, forgetting all the subjects of

complaint he, as well as his country, had had against the emperor, determined vigorously to espouse his cause in the quarrel.

sich annehmen

162 With this view, he entered, in 1683, into an alliance with the court of Vienna; by which on a promise of mutual assistance, he obtained a subsidy of twelve hundred thousand florins, the abandonment by Austria of all claims upon the salt mines of Wielizca, and the title of Majesty to the sovereign of Poland. Leopold also confided to his generous ally the task of mediating between himself and the discontented Hungarians; and he was anxious to confer the same office upon him, with regard to his differences with Lewis the Fourteenth. But here the vanity of the latter presented an obstacle, and prevented his submitting to the arbitration of the husband of Mary Casimire de la Grange.

Entscheidung

163 The winter of 1682—1683 was spent in warlike preparations, which were retarded and obstructed in Poland by the intrigues of France. A sort of plot had been entered into, of which the principal agent was Morstyn, the great treasurer of Poland., and one of the principal contrivers the Marquess de Vitry, the French ambassador. The

gehemmt

Urheber

object of this cabal was to put an end to the alliance between Leopold and Sobieski; and it is supposed that the dethronement of the latter formed part of the plan. Morstyn betrayed all the conspirators, among whom were the Sapiehas, and other noblemen, who were loaded with the favours of their sovereign.

It is impossible to say how far the conspira-¹⁶⁴ tors might have been successful, had not John intercepted part of the French ambassador's cor-
auffangen respondence. The effect of the discovery of these disgraceful machinations, was to increase the power, which the conspirators were so anxious to diminish.
Anschläge The cry of indignation was general; the king wisely confined the punishment to the great culprit Morstyn, who subsequently escaped to France. Vitry was insulted in the streets of Warsaw, and was obliged to retire from that capital; and the diet, which had previously shown great repugnance to
Abneigung engage in a Turkish war for the sake of the emperor, now voted every thing that the king wished.

By the treaty with the emperor, which was¹⁶⁵ confirmed by the solemn oaths of the contracting sovereigns (an engagement which the religious
Verpflichtung mind of Sobieski never forgot), Austria engaged

to keep on foot during the war sixty thousand men, and Poland forty thousand.

166 This treaty was censured by many, as voluntarily engaging the republic in a war, which might ^{freiwillig verwickeln} have been avoided. For as Sobieski most wisely remarked, "All the world is not in a position to understand, that the battering ram which batters ^{der Sturmbock} the walls of Vienna, will do the same by Lemberg, ^{zertrümmern} Cracow and Dantzic." Meanwhile the Turkish myriads were on their march. The Sultan accompanied them to the bridge of Essek on the river Drave, and then retired, leaving the command, together with the standard of Mahomet, to the vizier Kara Mustapha.

167 The unfortunate but valiant duke of Lorraine, Charles the Fifth, commanded the imperial troops; and vainly endeavoured to arrest the progress of the Osmanlis; who were hailed ^{aufhalten} as deliverers by the oppressed Hungarians, whom the mingled folly and ^{grüßen} cruelty of Leopold had made the irreconcilable enemies of the Austrian name. The duke of Lorraine, by a judicious and very difficult retreat, ^{flug} saved his army, and retired upon Vienna, which town became panic-struck. The miserable Leopold ^{vom Schrecken ergriffen} and his family fled to Lintz, and from thence to

Passau; and with such rapidity, and with so few comforts, that the empress, who was with child, was obliged upon one occasion to pass the night in the open air, on a bed of straw.

The duke of Lorraine, in concert with Count ¹⁶⁸ Stahremberg, the governor, employed himself diligently in repairing the fortifications of Vienna, and on the 14th of July, Kara Mustapha appeared before the walls of that city. He did not allow his enemies breathing time; but immediately commenced his attacks. ^{Zeit sich zu besinnen} In a short time the suburbs ^{Vorstädte} were in his possession, and his shells and artillery ^{Bomben} had destroyed many of the finest buildings in the town, including the imperial palace.

The accounts of the time, probably exaggerated, ¹⁶⁹ make the vizir's army amount to seven hundred thousand men, twenty thousand camels, one hundred thousand horses, and six hundred pieces of artillery of different kinds; while his camp was a city more extensive and more magnificent than that of Vienna. When the progress of this host of infidels was known through Christendom, the panic was universal; but no one had courage enough to offer resistance to such a multitude, though Leopold implored assistance from

all quarters. Upon Sobieski alone rested the hopes of Europe. He was employed at this time in collecting his army, which, as was always the case in Poland, was a matter of great difficulty. As his different detachments began their march, John only directed them to meet him "under the fortifications of Vienna."

170 By the commencement of August the Ottomans had made a practicable breach in the walls of Vienna, and no help seemed at hand. The garrison however defended itself bravely, and some of the German princes, at the head of whom were the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, prepared at length to march to the assistance of the chief of the empire. The court of Rome and that of Portugal contributed sums of money.

171 On the 15th of August, being the day of Assumption of the Virgin Mary, John commenced his ^{Himmelfahrt} march, to the astonishment of Europe, who had been persuaded by tales inserted by Lewis the Fourteenth in the French Gazettes, that the king of Poland was too unwieldy and too gouty to mount his horse. After ^{unbeholfen} encountering many ^{gichtisch} difficulties, Sobieski effected his junction with the imperial troops, with the electors ^{Bereinigung} of Saxony and Bavaria,

and with the army of the circles commanded by the prince of Waldeck.^{Kreife}

Meanwhile the Austrian capital was reduced ¹⁷² to such extremities, that had the Turks pushed the siege as vigorously as they ought, ^{betreiben} nothing could have resisted them. But they continued always in an indolent and foolish security, disbelieving the march ^{trüg} of Sobieski. When the king heard of their conduct, he said, "Vienna is saved." On the 11th of September, Sobieski, from the heights of Calemberg, saw the Turkish army, and the smoking ruins of the fortifications of Vienna beneath him. The Infidels were in possession of the whole country; and Stahremberg, whose ammunition had failed him, was preparing to surrender. The next day (12th September) the whole scene was changed; Sobieski was in possession of the Turkish camp; Christendom was saved; and Vienna was delivered, after having endured a siege of sixty days.

The sight of the army of Sobieski, and the ¹⁷³ knowledge that the hero was at the head of it, struck terror into the Turks. After some severe fighting, during which the admirable dispositions of the king and the enthusiasm of his troops bore down ^{alles vor sich hertreiben}

every thing before them, the vizir and his allies, the Tartars and the Hospodars, fled; and the Polish sovereign and his troops took possession of their gorgeous camp, and an almost incalculable booty.

174 ^{prachtvoll} Sobieski thus describes, in ^{unberechenbar} a letter to his queen, dated from the tents of the vizier September 13th, his victory, and its immediate consequences. "Blessed be God, he has given the victory to our nation; He has given us a triumph, such as past ^{Beitalter} ages cannot ^{aufweisen} parallel. All the artillery, all the camp of the Musulmanns, and vast riches have fallen into our hands. The approaches to the town and the fields all round are covered with the dead bodies of the infidels; and the rest fly in great consternation. Our people bring us at all moments, camels, mules, oxen, sheep, which the enemy had with them; besides an innumerable multitude of prisoners. Great numbers of deserters also came to us. The victory has been so sudden, and so extraordinary, that in the towns as well as in our camp, there have been alarms at every moment, lest the enemies should return. They have left behind them in powder and ammunition the value of a million of florins." He also says jestingly in the same letter, that "the vizier has

constituted him his heir"—and adds in conclusion, "You cannot say to me, as the Tartar wives do to their husbands, when they return without booty—You are not a brave man, for you have brought back nothing—it is only those, who press forward in the contest, who get any thing."

The next day not a Turk was to be seen; all ¹⁷⁶ this vast army was dissipated; but the marks of their passage remained ^{zerstoben} in blood and ^{Spuren} flame. In retreating, the vizier had massacred his captives, and even the servants, the women, and the camels of the camp, whom he could not carry with him. His retreat was also marked by the burning of every village he passed through, and the total devastation of the country. Kara Mustapha never halted in his flight, till he found himself at Buda.

On the 13th Sobieski entered Vienna, through the very breach which the Turks had made. The people clung round his knees, hailed him as their saviour, and cried out. "Ah, why is not he our sovereign!" It was with great difficulty, that Sobieski could penetrate through the admiring multitudes to the cathedral, where he went to offer up thanks to Heaven for his victory. Here fresh ^{darbringen} honours awaited him, for the ministering priest, ^{verwalten}

when he saw him advance towards the altar, could not refrain from addressing him in the language of scripture, ^{sich enthalten} "Fuit homo missus à Deo, cui nomen ^{anreden} erat Johannes 13."

177 \ No sooner was the victory of Vienna and the safety of Christendom known through Europe, than the praises of John were in every mouth; were inculcated from the pulpits, dissented upon in all ^{gepredigt} public assemblies, and ^{erörtern} celebrated by fêtes. The only exceptions to the general joy, were Lewis the ^{verherrlichen} Fourteenth, whose miserable and envious vanity was hurt at the glories of the Polish hero, and ^{getränkt} who did not therefore condescend to answer the letter announcing his successes, and the wretched ^{geruhen} Leopold, who added ingratitude to his other faults; and seemed to think, that the bravery of the king of Poland was a reproach upon his own disgraceful cowardice. For some time he delayed seeing his deliverer; and when he did see him his manner was so cold and so repulsive, that John broke off the interview suddenly, saying in a tone of irony, "I am happy to have rendered your imperial majesty this little service."

12 "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John."

But though thus insulted and neglected, the ¹⁷⁸ thought of abandoning the army, and leaving Leopold to continue the campaign against the infidels as best he might, seems never to have crossed the mind of the generous king of Poland. He felt himself bound by his oath, and prepared, in spite of the remonstrances of many of his generals and officers who wished to return home, and even of the desertion of some, to prosecute his victory, by taking the command of the army, and following the Turks.

As he advanced into Hungary, his difficulties ¹⁷⁹ increased; the want of provisions, desertions, the intrigues and tardiness of the imperialists, and the rigours of the season, all conspired against the Polish sovereign. At length he arrived at Parkan, a suburb of the town of Gran, from which it is separated by the Danube. John attacked the Turks, who held this post; but he did so with so much precipitation, that his troops fell into an ambuscade, which so terrified them that the greater part of them took to flight. In vain John performed prodigies of valour, and exposed his life to the greatest hazards. He was obliged at length to retreat, and his army would have suffered most

severely, had not the duke of Lorraine and the imperialists come to his assistance, and stopped the pursuit of the Turks. It was the first reverse, to which in thirty-five years of warfare, John had been subject; but he bore it like a hero, and said to the duke of Lorraine and his officers, "Gentlemen, I have been well beaten, but I will take my revenge with your assistance, and for your sakes."

180 This disaster took place on the 7th of October, and on the 9th it was repaired. Upon the news of the repulse of the Poles, the different detachments of the Turkish army united themselves, and advanced against the allies. The centre of the latter was commanded by the duke of Lorraine, the right wing by the king of Poland, and the left by Jablonowski, the great hetman of the crown. After a most severely contested engagement, the Turks were completely routed, principally in consequence of the evolutions of the wing commanded by Sobieski. The victory was followed by the immediate surrender of the fortress of Parkan—Many pachas and officers of consequence in the Turkish army were killed, and the massacre of the common soldiers was dreadful, they being impeded

aufhalten

in their flight by the river, of which the bridge broke down under them. After the battle, the allies laid siege to Gran, which had been in the possession of the Turks for one hundred and forty years. In four days after the opening of the trenches, Gran capitulated.

John was anxious to continue his conquests; ¹⁸¹ but the severity of winter had commenced in these mountainous districts. The imperialists determined upon going into winter quarters; and the Polish troops clamoured loudly to be permitted to take the same ^{schreiten} course. They were supported by the great hetman Jablonowski, who was of the French party in Poland; and secretly by the queen, who, in spite of all the slights put upon her by Lewis the Fourteenth, ^{Geringschätzung} continued to lean to France, and was therefore anxious to put an end ^{sich neigen} to the intimate union of John with the empire. Sobieski was obliged unwillingly to yield to these difficulties. In his march towards his winter quarters on the frontiers of Hungary and Poland, he took the important fortress of Schetzin from the Turks. On Christmas eve the hero-king entered his ancient capital of Cracow, under arches of triumph, and

amidst the shouts and applause of an admiring people.

182 From these victories of John Sobieski may be dated the decline of the Turkish empire. Till this period, the ^{der Verfall} Porte had been the terror of Europe; but Sobieski had wrested from them in three months more than their conquests had gained in a hundred years, and they never recovered the blow. Poland also was freed from an enemy, who had so long threatened her annihilation: while she saw return under her sovereignty ^{Vernichtung} or her protection, those provinces, which the infidels had wrested from her.

183 Poland now ¹⁴ became the centre of the negotiations of Europe; and the alliance of Sobieski was equally courted by all. He became discontented with the ^{sich bewerben} emperor, in consequence of his harsh treatment of his Hungarian subjects, in spite of the remonstrances, which, as mediator between them, he had felt it his duty to make. In consequence he refused, during the campaign of 1684, to unite his army with the imperial forces. He marched along the Dniester; but his success con-

sisted in offering battle to the Turks, who refused it, and in retaking the fortress of Jaslowicz.

The only post that now remained to the Otto-¹⁸⁴mans in the province of Podolia, was Kaminiek; and Sobieski hoped to obtain possession of it in the ensuing campaign. But a severe illness, which afflicted Sobieski during the year 1685, prevented his commanding his army in person; and consequently Kaminiek remained in hostile hands. The Turks now offered Kaminiek as a bribe to Sobieski, on condition of his separating himself from the emperor; but though the temptation was great, and the ill usage he had received from the court of Vienna, as well as the interests of his own country would have seemed to justify John in acceding to such a proposition, he generously and ^{beistreten} resolutely refused the offer. On the contrary he continued for several years ¹⁵ to assist the imperial views and interests, by keeping an army on foot and in the field, and thus creating diversions in the Turkish forces. In 1686 he penetrated through Moldavia and Walachia, but was a length obliged to return, from want of the reinforcements, which Leopold had promised him.

¹⁵ 1686—1689.

185 In spite of his increasing infirmities John continued to command his troops in person, and to strike terror by the knowledge of his presence into the breasts of his enemies. In the intervals between his campaigns, and during the leisure that politics allowed him, he devoted himself to the study of the sciences, to literature, to the conversations of learned men, to the fine arts, to the embellishments of his different country houses, and to the chase. Few however were his moments of tranquillity or relaxation; the tyranny of his wife; her intrigues to render the crown of Poland hereditary in her family; the quarrels of his sons ^{erblich} with one another; the jealousy of his personal glory on the part of Lewis the Fourteenth, and above all, the intrigues, which were consequent upon these complicated interests, which at one moment agitated ^{verwickelt} the Polish diets, at another prevented the marriage of John's eldest son with the heiress of the Radzivills; all concurred to render the life of the hero one of perpetual disquiet and vexation.

186 The diet of 1689 was, like its predecessor of 1688, stormy and turbulent; but the violence of the former one had been principally directed against the queen, and her supposed influence; that of the

latter even vented itself in an attack on the king himself. One ^{sich Luft machen} of the members of the diet, Opalinski, bishop of Culm, said, while apostrophising the king, "Either be just, or cease to reign." ^{anreden} This cruel attack so wounded the feelings of Sobieski, that he threatened to abdicate; but was persuaded by the assembly and the people to forego the intention, upon the bishop's begging ^{abdanten} pardon for his injurious expressions. "He resigned himself," to use the words of Salvandy, ^{sich gefasst machen} "to reign to the end, as a soldier does to fight, but without illusion and without hope."

Had the wise counsels of Sobieski to the emperor been followed ¹⁶, namely, to allow no respite ^{Ruhe} to the Turks, but to follow up the successes against them, by penetrating into the heart of their empire, and dictating peace under the walls of Adrianople, their power would probably have fallen to rise no more. But the narrow ^{beschränkt} mind of Leopold was incapable of comprehending the extended ^{umfassend} views of the king of Poland; and besides he was jealous of his talents, and of his glory; though those very qualities had saved his empire. He had therefore

conducted the Turkish war with so little energy (John being also restrained by the intestine divisions of his subjects, and the want of men and money which the succeeding diets either did not vote at all, or voted too sparingly), that the Turks had time to repair their losses. Their new vizier, also, Mustapha Coprogli, brother of Achmet Coprogli, was, like all his family, a man of ability.

188 Leopold now found the necessity of renewing his alliance with the Polish sovereign; and as he had before accomplished this by promising an archduchess to prince James Sobieski, the king's eldest son, he now again brought in about, by arranging his marriage with a princess ^{zu Stande bringen} of Neubourg. By his union with this princess ¹⁷ Prince James became the brother-in-law of the kings of Portugal and Spain, and of the emperor himself.

189 This marriage only however increased the domestic chagrins of John, as his imperious wife soon quarrelled with her daughter-in-law. ^{gebieterisch} He fled from these scenes to fields of battle as a relief. Though now infirm, and in bad health, he took the command ^{Linderung} of his army in July, 1661; and advancing

to the assistance of the emperor, he entered Moldavia. At Pererita he obtained a complete victory over the Turks, of which the consequence was, that all Moldavia submitted to him, and the different fortresses received Polish garrisons.

Almost at the same time, that the king of ¹⁹⁰ Poland was thus concluding the glories of his military life (for this was the last time he commanded an army in person), the Turks received another most severe loss in another quarter, by the death of the Vizier Mustapha Coprogli, who was killed in the battle of Salankemen, while contending with the imperial troops, commanded by Prince Lewis of Baden.

During the remaining years of the life of ¹⁹¹ John, the Polish army was commanded by Jablonski and Casimir Sapieha; they did but little, but at all events they prevented the Turks from again obtaining possession of that part of Moldavia, namely the districts within the river Pruth, which John in his last campaign had acquired for the republic.

The last years ¹⁸ of the life of the king of ¹⁹² Poland were as full of vexations, as his former

Verdruss

¹⁸ 1692—1695.

ones had been. The ambitious projects of Mary Casimire, the quarrels and jealousies of the royal family, the faithlessness of allies, and the turbulence and ingratitude of subjects, all contributed to embitter the existence of him, who had deserved better things from his country, and from humanity. His increasing infirmities also pressed upon him. In the beginning of 1695 a report of his death occasioned a sudden irruption of the Turks into the Polish provinces; but as soon as they discovered that he was still alive, they retired.

193 At this time John had the satisfaction of marrying his daughter Theresa to the elector of Bavaria, a brave prince, who had fought under the orders of Sobieski during the Vienna campaign.

194 The existence of Sobieski, during the last year of his life was one long agony; so great were his sufferings both of body and mind. His intervals of ease were occupied with practices of piety, and those literary and scientific amusements, in which he had always so much delighted. The 17th of June (the festival of the Trinity, so much honoured in catholic countries), was the birth-day of Sobieski, and was also the day of his election as sovereign

of Poland. It was also, by a singular coincidence, the day of his death. ^{Zusammentreffen}

He had on that day heard mass, and had expressed regret that he could not also communicate, as, in consequence of the feeble state of his health, he had not been able to fast. Towards the evening he was struck with a violent attack of apoplexy, from which he recovered sufficiently to utter the words, "*Stava Hene*," which have been held to mean, that he regretted being recalled to life. A second fit put an end to his sufferings. He expired at sunset, and his death like his birth was marked by a violent storm.

Thus died, in the 66th year of his age and the 22nd of his reign, a prince of whom it may be truly said, that neither the world nor his own country were worthy of him. From the former, that is from his allies, he received coldness and envy, in return for the most loyal attachment to treaties, and the most brilliant services on the field of battle;—from the latter he met but ingratitude, though he had raised her from the lowest esteem among European powers, and made her feared and respected; and had by his wisdom, retarded that ruin, which her own vicious constitution was sure

eventually to entail upon her. He was the most devoted of husbands ^{zu Theil werden} and the most affectionate of fathers; yet his wife and children were the very persons who, by their bad conduct, filled up the cup of his sorrows.

^{Reich}

197 The beautiful simplicity of mind of Sobieski, and his patriotic and affectionate feelings, are best proved, however, by an extract from one of his private and familiar letters to his wife, written during the celebrated campaign of Vienna, and which apparently answers the arguments of those persons, who objected to that expedition. ^{Gründe} "For me," says he, "I have devoted my life to the glory of God, and to his sacred cause, and in that I will persist. At the same time I do not expose myself ^{beharren} to personal dangers more than is necessary for a king, who has the eyes of all Europe upon his actions. For I hold to life. I hold to it, for the sake of christianity, and of my country, for you my love, for my children, for my family, and for my friends. But honour, which I have always had in view, and laboured for during the whole of my ^{vor Augen} career; honour, also, ought to be dear to me! to conclude, I think I can conciliate all these

^{versöhnen}

interests, and I trust to do so with the aid of the Almighty."

That he had faults and blots in his character, ¹⁹⁸ in short that he was human, is undoubted. But how immensely did his great and good qualities overbalance his less praiseworthy ones. As Charles the ^{aufwiegen} Twelfth, then a boy of only fifteen, said when he heard of his decease, "Such men should never ^{Ableben} die."

In consequence of the informalities which took ¹⁹⁹ place at the election and coronation of Augustus of Saxony his successor, the funeral of Sobieski, which should, according to ancient custom, have accompanied the latter ceremony, was deferred for thirty-six years, till the coronation of Augustus's successor; when at length, the ashes of the hero reposed with those of the long line of his royal predecessors, in the cathedral of Cracow.

PETER THE GREAT,

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

THE life of PETER THE GREAT, the creator of the 200 power of Russia, is full of remarkable achievements, which were the offspring of his eminent ^{Leistungen} qualities; but it is also stained with many crimes. The former ^{Erzeugniß} entirely resulted from his own merits; while for the latter some little palliation may be found ^{erfolgen} in the barbarism of his education, and of the state ^{Entschuldigung} of society in which he lived.

Peter was the only son of Alexis Michaelo- 201 witz ¹, Czar of Russia, by his second wife, and was born, June 10, 1673. Alexis was a prince of merit, and was the first sovereign of Russia, who

¹ Alexis was the son of Michael Romanof, who had been elevated to the throne of Russia, in 1613, by the common consent of the nobles.

made any endeavours towards civilizing his people. He died, unfortunately before his plans of amelioration had had any perceptible effect, in the forty-seventh year of his age, ^{merthlich} at the commencement of the year 1677. He left by his first wife, who was the daughter of a Russian Boyard, named Miloslauski, two sons, and six daughters. Of the daughters, the only celebrated one, was the Princess Sophia, who was the third. The sons were, Feodore, who succeeded him, and Ivan. Ivan was born, and continued during life nearly blind and nearly dumb. He was also afflicted with wretched health, and was subject to attacks of convulsions. By his second wife, a daughter of the Russian Boyard, Narishkin, Alexis became the father of Peter, as has been already mentioned, and of a daughter, named Natalia.

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Feodore inherited the good qualities of his father, and continued his attempts at civilization and improvement, as much as his feeble health permitted. He was twice married, and like his father, both times to the daughters of subjects; but had no offspring by either wife. He died in April, 1682, and on his death, ^{Kindes} named his younger brother Peter, then in his tenth year, to succeed

als sein Nachfolger

him. The exclusion of Ivan seemed nessary, in consequence of his bodily sufferings and defects. During the agony of Feodore, the Princess Sophia, who was a woman of great ambition, had, however, taken measures with a view of ensuring to herself the real exercise of the royal power. This scheme was rendered the easier, from the circumstances of the incapacity of one of her brothers, and the tender age of the other.

The military guards of the czars of Muscovy ²⁰³ were a powerful body, to whom were given the name of Strelitz; they amounted to forty thousand men, and their numbers and their privileges rendered them so formidable, that they frequently tyrannized over those whom they where intended to protect. Like the praetorian guards of the Roman emperors, and the janissaries of the Sublime Porte, they sometimes dethroned monarchs, and caused revolutions. The Princess Sophia had gained this dangerous force to her side, and prepared with their aid to set aside the last wishes of her brother, who had hardly ceased to breathe. The nobles of Russia had confirmed the choice of Feodore, and had proclaimed the child, Peter, their czar; but the strelitz, incited by Sophia, who

thought that her power would be greater as well as more lasting, if the incapable Ivan was sovereign, declared for the latter. Sophia excited them by promises, and by gifts of money; and then gave them a list of above ^{Geldschenkungen} forty nobles who were the most attached to Peter and his mother, with orders to massacre them. She particularly excited their hatred against the Narishkins, the family of the czarine.

204 The strelitz, mad with excitement, and inflamed with spirituous liquours, ^{durch Aufwiegelung zur Tollmuth gereizt} proceeded with fury to the work of vengeance. They put to death all those designated to them by Sophia, and added to these victims ^{bezeichnen} many whom they personally disliked. The czarina was forced to fly with Peter, ^{mißfallen} and to carry him in her arms to a considerable distance from Moscow. Even this precaution was not sufficient. She was pursued, and the asylum of a convent, into which she had retired, was violated by the brutal soldiery. She rushed, in ^{entweihen} despair, into the church of the convent, and placed her son ^{rob} upon the high altar, and herself before him. Even this sanctuary was not respected. Two of the strelitz followed her, and seizing the child, were preparing to cut his head off. At [this moment

some officers arrived, by whom he was rescued. The issue of this bloody tumult was, that Ivan and Peter ^{ausgang} were declared joint sovereigns, and Sophia regent; but the real ^{gemeinschaftlich} governors of the state were the accomplices of the latter in crime, the unruly ^{Mitschuldigen} strelitz. ^{auführisch}

This state of things continued for three years; ²⁰⁵ but at length Sophia contrived, in some degree at least, to reduce the strelitz to submission, and to emancipate herself from their tyranny. This task she accomplished, in part, by the assistance of the prince Basil Gallitzin, whom she made her prime minister and generalissimo, and who, from his abilities, his instruction, and his sound views of government, was worthy of the trust reposed in him.

Meanwhile her great object was to prevent ²⁰⁶ her brother, Peter, who already showed signs of abilities, from ever wresting from her the sovereignty. With this ^{entreeßen} view, she married Ivan, in 1684, to a young Soltikof, hoping that an heir might be born, who would for ever exclude Peter from the throne. But her more systematic, and less justifiable, means of attaining her object, were the neglect and even perversion of his education. The general Mencias (a learned Scotchman) who

had been placed about Peter by his father, Alexis, and who refused to concur in the infamous plans of Sophia, was removed. The young prince was then delivered to the care of some obscure foreigners, was encouraged in idleness and ^{unbekannt} vulgar amusements, and even in irregularities, by ^{gemein} which his mind was corrupted, and his constitution injured.

207 Fortunately among the adventurers, by whom Peter had been surrounded, was a Genevese, named Lefort, who had served in the armies of the French, and had subsequently engaged himself in the service of the czar Alexis. When, however, he arrived in Russia, that prince was no more. After many sufferings, he succeeded in being placed about the person of the young czar. Lefort was a man of ability and instruction, and he soon perceived the opening genius of Peter. He lost no time in ^{aufsteigend} instilling into him the rudiments of science, a know-^{beibringen} ledge of the history and ^{Anfangsgründe} arts of Europe, and above all, the best instruction he was able to afford him upon military matters. Peter profited to the utmost by these lessons, and as his mind expanded, he determined to resist the unprincipled ^{erweitern} ambition of his sister.

When Peter arrived at the age of seventeen ²⁰⁸ he married, and like all his predecessors, he chose his wife from among his subjects. She was the daughter of Colonel Lapuchin. Almost immediately after this event ² the Princess Sophia, not content with the reality of power and sovereignty, determined to assume to herself the outward forms of sovereignty. She declared herself czarina; Peter remonstrated at the usurpation; and the ruthless ^{Protestiren} princess determined upon his immediate assassination. ^{grausam}

Six hundred strelitz were dispatched upon ²⁰⁹ this bloody errand. They left Moscow by night, and marched ^{Auftrag} in all haste towards the residence of the young Peter, hoping to find him unprepared and defenceless. But he had been made acquainted in time by secret friends of the plot against his life, and he fled to the convent of the Holy Trinity. There he called around him his friends, and the friends of Russia, to protect his life, and to assist him in putting an end to the usurpation which existed. Nor was the call in vain. The greater part of the nobles and of the army deserted Sophia, who was seized and shut up in a convent at Mos-

cow. Her minister, Gallitzin, was banished; and her followers, especially the strelitz, were put to death in great numbers, and with circumstances of cruelty, which the barbarous state of the country and of the people rendered usual upon such occasions.

210 Peter now assumed the reins of government, associating nominally with himself, his imbecile ^{Bügel} brother, Ivan, whose name is found in the ^{untüchtig} acts of the Russian government, till his death in 1696. ^{Verhandlungen}

211 Peter no sooner saw himself in possession of the sovereignty, which was his due, than he commenced his regeneration of Russia. As a preliminary to this great work, he vanquished his own ^{Einführung} feelings and habits. Having been accustomed to idleness and riotous living, he became laborious and frugal;—^{schwelgerisch} having been brought up in comparative ignorance, he became most diligent in acquiring knowledge. Nay, he even overcame his constitutional antipathies. He was by nature ^{befiegt} afraid of ^{angeboren} water—this feeling was so strong, that he was accustomed to be covered by a cold perspiration, and even to fall into convulsions, in passing a rivulet—yet he ended in becoming an experienced mariner, and in even feeling a pleasure in being

both in and on the water. This he accomplished, by throwing himself every morning into a cold bath, till his horror of the element had abated.

Another ^{Abscheu} determination on the part of Peter, ²¹² in his plan for the civilization of Russia, and which proved of essential service to him, was that of becoming himself, in the first place, acquainted with all the arts and improvements which he designed to introduce into his country. ^{Verbesserung} This he felt to be necessary, in consequence of the universal ignorance of all his subjects upon these matters. It was this determination which made him a labourer in the dock-yards of Saardam, and led him to take lessons in different trades. ^{Schiffwerft}

For the first three years of his reign, his own ²¹³ education, the study of military tactics, and the care of forming an effective and disciplined army of twenty thousand men, sufficiently occupied the young czar. One day, when Peter was walking in the gardens of Ismaeloff, one of his country houses, he saw the wreck of a small English vessel, or sailing boat, which had been abandoned. He inquired of Timmermann, his master of mathematics, what occasioned the difference in the shape and construction of this boat, from those he had seen

on the River Moskwa. Timmermann told him, that it was because this one had been adapted for sails as well as oars. Peter became anxious ^{eingesetzt} immediately to repair and render serviceable the little vessel—the difficulty was to find any one within the bounds of his empire who was capable of the task. At length he discovered that a ship-builder, named Brandt, whom his father had imported from Holland, was still living, in obscurity, at Moscow. Brandt restored the wreck, and Peter had it placed on a large lake, and navigated it himself.

214 He then employed Brandt to build him two frigates and three yachts, and when they were completed, he had them launched on the same lake, and was accustomed to act ^{lassen} himself as the pilot of his little fleet. In 1694, he went to Archangel, where he made Brandt build him another frigate, on board of which, and accompanied by all the merchant vessels in that port, he set sail upon the White Sea, with a view of perfecting himself in naval manoeuvres.

215 These amusements were interrupted by the commencement of hostilities against the Ottoman Porte. In 1695, Peter declared war against that power, taking advantage of the moment when the

Venetians and the emperor seemed to be successfully attacking the Turkish territories. His great object was, to obtain, if possible, an extension of his frontier towards the south, so as to enable him to establish a maritime force in the Black Sea. His army marched against Azoph, and commenced the siege of that place. But this was the first fortified town which the Russians had ever regularly besieged; and for a considerable time they suffered losses, without being able to make any impression on the place. The artillery of Peter was commanded by a Dantzicker, named Jacob. This man was punished for some fault, by one of the Russian generals, with great severity. In revenge, he spiked the czar's cannon, deserted to the enemy, ^{vernageln} threw himself into Azoph, and defended the town with courage and ability.

The first year of the siege concluded without ²¹⁶ any result; but, in 1696, Peter with that perseverance in any enterprise he had undertaken, which marked his character, marched another, and a still stronger army against Azoph. He had obtained the services of several foreign engineers, and, thus supported, the siege was pushed with greater vigour. He also constructed twelve vessels, carrying guns, which

were built on the River Voroneja, and conveyed down the River Don to the sea of Azoph, and which contributed greatly to the eventual success of the siege, by their successes over the Turkish fleet. At length, on the 28th of July, 1696, Azoph capitulated, and the first use Peter made of his conquest, was to form dockyards there, and to augment his fleet, with a view of driving the Turks from those coasts.

217 After this success, the czar continued his work of reformation. It grieved him to be obliged in every art and every ^{verdrängen} manufacture to employ foreigners. He, therefore, sent young Russians to different countries, to be educated in various ways. Not content with this, he determined to travel, and instruct himself, in order to see with his own eyes the state of civilization in Europe, and to judge what improvements he thought most necessary to introduce into his own country.

218 He commenced his travels in 1697. He passed through, and surveyed Esthonia and Livonia, provinces at this time possessed by the Swedes, but which he was anxious to annex to his own territories, as a means of obtaining a harbour on the Baltic. From thence he went into Prussia, and then through the north of Germany to Amsterdam,

where he took up his abode in the dockyard at Saardam, in North Holland. Here he took a miserable lodging in the house of one of the Dutch fishermen, and hired himself as a workman to a shipbuilder.

The first few days of his stay there, he however, devoted to examining the different vessels in the harbour of Amsterdam; climbing up the sides of the ships, and going into every part of them. He was, at times, much annoyed by the crowds who followed him; and the inconvenience he suffered from them put him into such violent passions, that more than once he fell into convulsions, to which he was occasionally subject all his life. It is said, that the fright he received when a child, from the attempt of the strelitz to murder him, first occasioned these convulsions; but it is more probable they were a constitutional disease. They partook of the nature of cataleptic fits, lasted for some hours, and were very frightful to behold. It is probable that the occasionally intemperate habits of the czar may have increased his liability to these distressing attacks. The sight also of particular objects, such as a black beetle, for instance always produced them; and the presence and

soothing conversation of females were held to be
besänftigend
 their best cure.

220 When Peter commenced his labours in the
 ship-builder's yard, he took the name of Peter
 Timmerman, by which he was known by his fellow-
 workmen; and his dress and his food were exactly
Mitarbeiter
 similar to theirs. He worked very hard, and took
 his regular wages like the others, with which he
 bought his food and raiment. He also insisted
 upon his favourites, Menzikoff and Golownin, work-
 ing with him; but they appear never to have
 adopted the trade in good earnest, but to have
 treated it as a joke, and lived all the time in a
 221 good house, surrounded by luxuries and comforts.

When he had made himself acquainted with
Lebensgenüsse
 the method of building ships, in all their different
 parts, he abandoned Saardam, and proceeded on
 his travels. He next visited England, where William
 the Third received him with great cordiality, and
 made him a present of a beautiful yacht—the gift
 of all others, which Peter was sure to prize the most.

222 He reached England in January, 1698, and
 took up his abode in one of the dock-yards at
 Deptford. But his pursuit of ship-building did
Studium
 not prevent his acquiring knowledge of other kinds.

He studied and practised anatomy, astronomy, geography, chemistry, and the art of fortification; and made himself master of the mysteries of various trades and manufactures. From England he came ^{Gewerbe} back to Amsterdam, and from thence returned home through Austria, having occupied a period of seventeen months in his extraordinary tour.

Meanwhile his orders to his troops, who were ²²³ combating against the Turks, which had been given from his hut at Saardam, had been successfully obeyed. General Shein and Prince Dolgorouki, who commanded the Russian army, obtained a complete victory over the Turks in August, 1697, and took the town of Precop.

Peter had intended to have extended his travels ²²⁴ into Italy; but just as he was preparing to leave Vienna for Venice, he heard of a revolt, which had taken place in his own dominions, and instantly hastened to quell it. Previously to his departure from his territories, the ^{dämpfen} ungovernable strelitz, who were displeased at the ^{zügellos} introduction of discipline into the Russian army, and the various reforms of Peter, had entered into a conspiracy against their sovereign. Their plan was to set fire to part of the city of Moscow, certain that, as soon as he

heard of the calamity, Peter would hasten to the spot. They then intended, in the confusion of the night, to assassinate him; and then to butcher all the foreigners, whom he had introduced into his army. The plot was betrayed to Peter by two of the accomplices. After exposing himself to great danger, by going alone among the conspirators, ^{Mitschuldigen} he had them seized, and great numbers were put to death by the most inhuman tortures. The vengeance of Peter upon these occasions, was always that of a cruel barbarian, for which the only attempt at excuse must be, the habits of the country, and his own education.

225 This terrible execution restored tranquillity for a time; but the strelitz, though terrified, were not subdued. They mutinied, while serving in the army which acted against the Turks, and marched ^{befiegt} upon Moscow, where their accomplices were expecting them. But the friends of the absent czar were also on the alert. An old boyard of the name of Romodonowsky, ^{fingen eine Meuterei an} who was much attached to Peter, and the Scotch general, Gordon, who was in the Russian service, marched against the insurgents. The combat was a short one; the strelitz were vanquished, and taken prisoners.

Here we approach a passage in the life of ²²⁶ Peter, over which, were it not for the veracity of history, we would willingly draw a veil. ^{Wahrhaftigkeit} Peter arrived from Vienna, and his first act was to put to death, in the midst of the most dreadful tortures, two thousand of the strelitz. He even assisted in torturing them with his own hands, and cutting off their heads, with a frightful degree of dexterity, of which he was very proud. He also obliged his nobles to follow his example, and become executioners; and, mingling the orgies of intemperance ^{Scharfrichter} with these barbarous cruelties, ^{Orgien} he drank twenty successive cups of wine, as twenty heads of the ^{nach einander} rebels fell by his own hands. Nor was this a scene which took place upon a single occasion; for five months did the axe, the gibbet, and the ^{der Galgen} wheel do their work; and at these terrible exhibitions ^{das Rad} the czar was almost invariably present, and ^{Schauspiel} frequently an active agent. ^{beständig}

The news of these barbarities spread through ^{thätig mitwirkend} ²²⁷ the empire, and occasioned other revolts; but they were all quelled in blood. In the following year, eighty of the strelitz, who had taken part in the disturbances, were sent in chains from Azoph, and were all beheaded by the czar's own hand. The

band of the strelitz was dissolved by an edict of the czar, and the individuals composing it were dispersed through the Russian territories. The Princess Sophia, who, from her prison had encouraged the revolt, from this moment gave up her ambitious projects, became a nun, and died in 1704.

228 These severities were followed by various ameliorations and changes in the different bodies of the state. It was now, in fact, that Peter commenced that long and laborious contest, which he maintained during his whole life with his people; contending against their barbarous customs, their uncouth dress, their superstitions, and their social habits, all of which required alteration; but all of ^{gesellschaftlichen} ~~Gewohnheiten~~ which were the more difficult to reform and alter, from the excessive ignorance and consequent prejudices of those who practised them.

229 He commenced his improvements with a reform of the dress of the peasants, and of the great body of the people. Instead of the long robes and flowing dresses of the Muscovites, Peter compelled ^{fließend, übertoll} them to adopt the different dresses of civilized Europe, which he conceived, and justly, to be more fitted for active life, and for the following of the various ^{passend} trades and ^{thätig} manufactures, ^{Betreibung} which he

was now introducing into his country. He also compelled the peasants to shave their beards, giving them, however, the alternative of preserving them upon the payment of a small impost, ^{beibehalten} which latter course was preferred by the majority ^{Abgabe} of them.

Till the time of Peter, the women had been ^{Mehrzahl} 230 immured in the Asiatic manner; he broke through ^{einschließen} this custom, and insisted upon their being admitted ^{abschaffen} into society. He altered the current money of the realm; and also reformed the ^{gangbar} calendar, and made the ^{Reich} year begin on the first of January, instead of the month of September. He changed the titles and dresses of the lawyers, and even of the clergy, who were in consequence bitterly opposed to all the czar's improvements. To these ^{höchst zuwider} opponents of innovation were also added the nobles, whom the ^{Neuerung} czar dragged by force from their idleness, and their barbarism, and compelled, upon pain of the ^{bei Strafe} confiscation of their estates, first to be educated, and then to be active and useful.

Peter himself, in his journal ³, sums up the ^{zusammenrechnen} 231 different ameliorations, which were in progress in Russia at this period ⁴, by the following ^{im Fortschreiten begriffen} enumera-
^{Aufzählung}

³ Journal de Pierre le Grand.

⁴ 1699.

tion. He says, that "he had regulated the printing presses, caused translations to be made and printed of different books on engineering, artillery, mechanics, and other arts, as well as works of history and chronology. He had founded a school for the marine, and by degree those ^{gründen} for other sciences and arts; schools ^{nach und nach} for the Latin, German, and other languages. He had permitted his subjects to trade in foreign countries, which before they could not do on pain of death; and not only gave them permission to leave the country for the purposes of commerce, but obliged them to go. He had instituted the order of St. Andrew, the apostle of ^{gestiftet} Russia. And he had signed with his own hand, which his predecessors had rarely done, all despatches, manifestoes, and treaties with christian powers ⁵."

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It was in this year that Peter lost his old and tried friend Le Fort, who died at the age of forty-six. The czar bestowed upon him a magnificent funeral, which he attended himself. In one of the drunken orgies, to which the czar was at times unfortunately addicted, he had quarrelled with Le

⁵ Barrow.

Fort, and even drawn his sword upon him. But sincere contrition followed quickly upon this outrage. He implored ^{Neue} the pardon of his friend, saying at ^{Beleidigung} the same time, "I am anxious to reform my nation, and I cannot even reform ^{eifrig} myself." This anecdote is the key to the character of Peter, who was frequently driven to what was evil by the violence of his impulses, and of his passions; but had yet enough of natural good feelings, to be always sorry afterwards, and willing to make atonement ^{Ersatz} for what he had done,

In this year ⁶ also the czar concluded an ad- 233
vantageous truce with the Turks, which was to
continue ^{Waffenstillstand} for thirty years. By this agreement the
czar was to retain possession of Azoph, and of the
forts dependant upon it.

The darling ^{Liebungs-} object of the life of Peter was 234
the improvement of his marine, and he soon found,
that the sea of Azoph was too confined and remote
a theatre for his ships to act upon. ^{beschränkt} He ^{abgelegen} therefore
^{Schauplatz} turned his thoughts to the Baltic, of which the
shores, at least those portions of them which he
was in want of, where in the possession of Sweden.

Sweden ⁷ was at this time ruled by a youth of seventeen, who was as yet unknown to Europe; but who was destined ere long to exercise so great an authority over its destinies. ^{bald} This was Charles the Twelfth, who had ^{Gewalt} lately succeeded his father Charles the Eleventh, a prince who had made himself so unpopular with his own subjects by his usurpations of their privileges, that many of them ^{Einziehung} were only waiting for an opportunity to excite revolts against his son in their peculiar provinces. ^{aufregen}

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At this juncture, Augustus the Second, the new king of Poland, ^{Gelegenheit} promised the Poles on his accession, to recover from Sweden those provinces ^{Thronbesteigung} which had ^{wieder gewinnen} formerly belonged to the republic, namely Livonia and Esthonia; and the young king of Denmark, Frederick the Fourth, was also preparing to attack the Swedish monarch on the side of Holstein and Sleswick. Peter leagued himself with these allies; a Livonian gentleman of the name of Patkul, who had been persecuted by Charles the Eleventh, having assisted greatly in bringing the different powers to an agreement. ^{ein Bündniß schließen} The czar put in motion, in the month of Septem- ^{Uebereinstimmung}

ber, 1700, an army of sixty thousand men, and directed them against the province of Ingria. This province, as well as Carelia, he intended to restore to the Russian empire, from which they had been wrested by the Swedes at the time of the troubles in Russia, occasioned by the appearance of the false Demetrius ^{trennen} 8.

It seemed as if nothing could save Charles ²³⁶ from being crushed by the formidable league banded against him; but in a short time appearances ^{erdrückt} had ^{vereinigt} entirely changed. He first attacked the king of Denmark, and in six weeks obliged him to sue humbly for peace. He next obliged the Poles and Saxons to raise the siege of Riga, while he prepared, as a punishment, to wrest the kingdom of Poland from its Saxon sovereign. ^{entreißen} He then turned

* The tyrant Boris having in 1597, assassinated Demetrius, the real heir to the throne of Muscovy, a young monk took the name, and pretended to be the prince, who had escaped his assassins. He drove out the usurper; but was in turn himself put to death. After him appeared three other false Demetrius's, whose intrigues kept the country for some time in confusion; which was only put an end to by the election in 1613 of Michael Romanof, the grandfather of Peter the Great.

his arms against the Russians, and marched to encounter them. The army of Peter, commanded by the princes Croi and Dolgorouky (Peter himself with his favourite Menzikoff⁹ being gone to Novogorod), was employed in besieging the small town of Narva, when Charles and his Swedes came up with them.

237 Although the Russian army amounted to sixty thousand men, and that of Charles to only eight thousand, he did not hesitate to attack them. On the 30th of November, the engagement took place, and never was rout more complete than that of the Russians. ^{Niederlage} Almost the whole of their army was taken prisoner; and their artillery, magazines, camp, and provisions, all fell into the hands of the victor. The immediate effect of the success was the clearing the province of the Russians. It is said that the divisions in the Russian army, and especially among their chiefs, as well as the accident of a violent snow storm driving in their faces, and which ^{Schneegeföhber} prevented them from seeing their enemies, contributed to their defeat, one of the most

⁹ Mentzikoff had been a pastrycook, but was raised by Peter on account of his abilities, and was now a prince and a general.

overwhelming ones of which history gives us any record.

Runde.

It appeared as if, with the ruin of his army, ²³⁸ every means of defence was taken from the czar; but his inflexible constancy and firmness supplied all deficiencies. Nor indeed was the defeat of Narva the only misfortune, which now pressed upon him. Shortly after that event, he heard that a revolt had taken place at Astracan, in consequence of the compelled change of dress, and the severities exercised against the strelitz. Scheremetoff was dispatched to quell these disturbances ¹⁰, while the czar himself, with an activity which seemed almost supernatural, collected and disciplined another army. At the same time he offered succours both of men and money to the unhappy king of Poland. That sovereign was reduced to the lowest ebb of distress, for Charles had overrun the greater part of his kingdom.

in die äußerste Noth versetzt

But while Peter was preparing to resist the ²³⁹ overwhelming course of the Swedish monarch, he did not neglect his improvements. He introduced the manufacture of wollen cloths into his country;

and sent for different breeds of sheep, whose fleeces were said to be the most esteemed, from ^{Wolle} various countries. He induced artisans of different kinds to enter his service. He founded colleges—commenced the construction of canals—and built towns. At the same time, with a view of carrying on the war successfully, he constructed a fleet of gallies upon the lakes Peipus and Ladoga, with which he was enabled to annoy the neighbouring Swedish provinces, and to ^{beunruhigen} combat with success the naval forces of that power. In this interval Peter had also engaged the services in his army of the Livonian Patkul, whose experience and intelligence were of great use to him.

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At length, at the commencement of 1602, the czar was in a condition to take the field. Charles who, from the moment he had obtained the victory of Narva, held the Muscovites and their sovereign in the most unmerited contempt, at this time was fighting in Poland; but his general Slipenback with a considerable army defended the provinces of Ingria and Estonia. Peter sent Scheremetoff against him, who obtained an advantage over the Swedes near Dorpt. This success was followed by a naval one on the lake Peipus. At this time

the czar heard, that a Swedish fleet was on its way to Archangel, with a view to sack and destroy that town. He flew with unexampled rapidity to the defence of the place; threw a strong garrison into it, laid the first stone of a new citadel, prepared such effectual means of defence, that the descent of the Swedes there was abandoned.

Landung

aufgeben

Scheremetoff followed up these successes by ²⁴¹ attacking Slipenback ^{zu Nuße machen} near the river Embac. He defeated him, and took sixteen standards and twenty cannons. He then advanced to the little town of Marienburgh, on the borders of Livonia, which he took. In consequence of some alleged treachery of the Swedes, who defendes the town, ^{angeblich} the Russians, upon obtaining possession of it, destroyed it; and took all the inhabitants prisoners. Among these was a young and beautifull Livonian girl, named Martha, an orphan, who had been educated in the house of the Lutheran minister of the place, and who had been married the day before the sack of the town to a Swedish serjeant, who was killed by the Russians in their attack. It was this humble beauty, who became eventually the wife of the czar, and ruled the empire after his death under the name of the empress Catherine.

242 The last advantage obtained by the Russians under Scheremetoff during this year, was the taking of the important town of Notebourg on the lake Ladoga, which surrendered to them on the 16th of October. At this siege Peter himself conducted one of the storming parties, and mounted the breach in the capacity of a captain of bombardiers, which was the military rank he had now assigned to himself. Peter immediately had the fortifications restored and augmented, and gave the place the name of Schlusselfourg, or "the Town of the Key," because he considered it the key of the Baltic, as well as of Ingria and Finland.

243 At the conclusion of the campaign, the czar summoned his army to Moscow, where they were received with great pomp and rejoicings, and obtained rewards for their good conduct. The winter of 1702—1703 was occupied by the czar, in the advancement of his internal improvements, and in preparations, both by sea and land, for further contests with the Swedes.

244 The first military action of the year 1703, was conducted by the czar himself; and was peculiarly remarkable from the circumstance of the foundation of St. Petersburgh having been the consequence

of its success. The fortress of Nya, situated on the Lake Ladoga, near the mouth of the Neva, was of great importance from its position; and Peter determined to obtain possession of it. He attacked it by sea and land. To Scheremetoff he left the task of commanding in the trenches, while he himself, with his fleet, brought reinforcements to the besiegers, and prevented the Swedish vessels from assisting the besieged. While thus occupied, he captured two Swedish vessels, and the fortress soon surrendered.

Upon this occasion we find it mentioned in ²⁴⁵ his own journal, "that the captain of bombardiers was created knight of the order of St. Andrew, for his service on this occasion, by the Admiral Gollownin, first knight of the order." By thus only receiving rewards and distinctions, when he thought he merited them, he set the best example possible to his subjects; and moreover showed them, that it was only by means of real services, that they could hope to rise.

The possession of Nya, and the successes of ²⁴⁶ his General Patkul, in Livonia, determined Peter to build a new town near the Baltic, where the river Neva flows into the gulf of Finland. The

neighbourhood all around was barren and marshy—but the quick eye of Peter saw at once the advantages of the situation for his marine, and his commerce¹¹; and on the 27th of May, 1703, the day of Pentecost, he laid the first stone of his new capital, which he called St. Petersburg. Shortly afterwards he built another fortress on an island at the mouth of the river, which he called Cronslot, and which is now the town of Cronstadt. While his new town was building, Peter was frequently on the spot, encouraging his workmen, and even working with them.

247 He found many obstacles, from the obstinacy and bigotry of the people and the priests, whom he brought, though most unwilling to come, to inhabit the rising city. He however, overcame all these difficulties by perseverance; and in a few months a great number of habitations were completed. But the circumstance that most delighted the czar, was the commencement of trade and commerce, which was marked by the arrival of a Dutch merchant ship, laden with different come-

¹¹ The change of the capital from Moscow also tended perhaps more than any thing to the civilization of the Russians.

stibles. This was followed by another Dutch ^{Egwaaren} vessel, and an English one, all three of which made the voyage for the purpose of trading, during the first year of the existence of St. Petersburg.

In the year 1704, two Russian armies besieged ²⁴⁸ the towns of Dorpt, or Dorpat, and of Narva. They were both taken, in fact, by the prowess of the czar, who flew from one army to the other, as ^{Lapferfelt} he thought his presence was most necessary. Dorpt first fell into the hands of the Russians, who, at the same time, defeated the Swedish general, Slipenback, who was advancing to its relief. This took place in the month of July, and in August the town of Narva was taken by storm, the czar himself leading the storming party. Upon this occasion, Peter exerted himself most laudably to prevent the excesses of the soldiery. When he entered the town-house, he threw his bloody sword upon the table, saying to the governor, "Look at the blood on my sword, it is not Swedish, but Russian, this sword has saved the unhappy inhabitants of this town, whom your obstinacy in resisting without any hope of success, had sacrificed."

While Charles the Twelfth was electing ²⁴⁹ Stanislas Leczinsky king of Poland, in the room of

the czar's ally, Augustus, and causing him to be acknowledged by the greater part of the subjects of the republic, Peter was continuing his conquests in Ingria, of which province he appointed his favourite, Menzikoff governor. At the same time he sent succours to the king of Poland; pursued his buildings at Petersburg; superintended the additions to his naval armaments; and urged on his various improvements.

250 In the spring of 1705, his new creation of St. Petersburg, and the fort of Cronslot were threatened with destruction by a Swedish fleet, which appeared at the mouth of the Neva. It consisted of twenty-two vessels, of fifty-four cannons each, four of sixty-four, six frigates, and some smaller vessels and fire-ships. The troops embarked on board this armament, made a descent upon the little Island of Kotin: there a Russian colonel, with his regiment, which he had placed in ambush during the landing of the Swedes, attacked and defeated them. The Swedes returned to their vessels, leaving their dead behind them, and three hundred prisoners. Still the Swedish fleet menaced Petersburg, while an army, under the command of General Meidel, marched by land to cooperate

with it. The Swedes, however, were at length repulsed both by land and sea. On the latter element, Peter himself commanded against them.

No sooner was this achieved, than Peter hastened into Courland, ^{zu Stande gebracht} anxious, while Charles was still engaged in Poland, ^{begierig} to obtain possession of the whole province of Livonia. The Russian general Scheremetoff, marched towards Mittau; but was defeated by the Swedish general, Levenhaupt, at Gemavers. Peter hastened to his assistance, advanced to Mittau, and obtained possession of that town.

But the rumor of the defeat of the Russians at Gemavers, reached another part of the czar's dominions, and occasioned a revolt at Astracan, on the Caspian Sea. Peter sent Scheremetoff to quell it—and then, having secured the citadel of Mittau, ^{dämpfen} he advanced himself through Samogitia and Lithuania. At Tykoczin he met the unfortunate Augustus, king of Poland, and went with him to Grodno, the capital of Lithuania, where he stayed with him till the end of the year; and left him, when he parted from him, a sum of money, and a considerable body of Russian troops. He then proceeded, according to his custom, to Moscow, to

inspect and continue his improvements; and to ^{befichtigen} bestow upon his different officers and soldiers those rewards, which their conduct in the preceding campaign seemed to him to merit.

253 The czar had hardly arrived at Moscow ¹², when he heard that the victorious king of Sweden had advanced to Grodno. On his approach, Augustus had fled towards Saxony, guarded by four Russian regiments. The absence of these had weakned the Russian army, and the flight of the king of Poland dispirited them, so that when Peter hastened to their ^{niederschlagend} assistance, he found the approaches to Grodno occupied by the Swedes, and his own army dispersed. While he was endeavouring to rally it, the Swedes obtained a victory over the ^{wieder sammeln} King of Poland's general, Schullembourg. This was followed by other combats with the different corps of Russians, in which the Swedes were also successful.

254 Another misfortune now befel the czar, in the loss of Patkul, who, being employed as the Russian ambassador to the king of Poland, had been delivered by the wretched Augustus to Charles, who

had the cruelty to have him broke on the wheel as a traitor to his country. This base submission ^{rädern lassen} on the part of Augustus, did not, ^{niedrig} however, soften, the Swedish conqueror towards him, who ^{erweichen} obliged him to sign a treaty, by which he abdicated the throne of Poland; and he even compelled ^{entfagen} him to write a congratulatory letter to his rival, Stanislas Leczinsky, on his accession.

Just at the moment, when Augustus was thus ²⁵⁵ completing his own disgrace and dishonour, fortune was beginning once more to smile on the Muscovites. Menzikoff defeated completely the Swedish commander, Meyerfieldt, at a place called Calishe. The successes of Charles in Poland and Saxony appear to have turned his head. In spite of the bravery, which had already been shown by the Russians, and the evident ability and fortitude of their sovereign, Charles appears to have considered, that his advancing against them would at once put an end to the contest. In this spirit was the reply of Charles to Peter, when the latter made propositions of peace, which were backed by the mediation of France ¹³. “I will only sign peace ^{unterstützt} ^{Vermittelung}

¹³ 1707.

with him in Moscow." "My brother Charles," observed the czar, "wishes to act Alexander, but he will not find in me a Darius." Another insolent expression of Charles was, With my whip only, I shall be able to drive all these Russian wretches, not only from Moscow, but from the face of the earth." At the same time, in the arrogance of his pride, he distributed the different dignities of the Russian empire ^{vertheilen} among his officers.

256 To support these vain boastings he left his head quarters at Alt Ranstadt, in August, 1707, and advanced, at the head of fifty thousand men, against Russia. In his passage through Poland, he laid waste the country in the most cruel manner, and took up his winter quarters in Lithuania. In the very first days of 1708, he appeared before the town of Grodno, near which the Russian army had wintered; while the czar himself, with six hundred of his guards, was stationed in the town. Charles advanced so rapidly, and met with so little resistance, that Peter ran great danger of being taken prisoner. He had just time to escape out of one of the gates, and the instant after he had passed through it, a guard of Swedish soldiers was posted at it.

During the succeeding night one of the Jesuits ²⁵⁷ of Grodno came to the czar, and informed him, that though the king of Sweden had obtained possession of the town, only a very small portion of his army were with him. Thus instructed, the czar again entered the town, and repulsed the first party of Swedes he met with. An obstinate contest ^{schlug zurück} commenced in the streets; but at this instant the main body of the Swedish army arrived, and the Russians were finally ^{endlich} obliged to leave the possession of the town to their enemies. The Swedes now commenced plundering the country, which they laid waste on all sides; and their ravages ^{Verheerung} were accompanied with circumstances of great and unnecessary cruelty to the peasants.

They then advanced further into the interior, ²⁵⁸ in spite of the difficulties presented by the passage of rivers and marshes, and resistance of the Russian troops; and at length they arrived at Mohilow, on the bank of the Borysthenes, or Dnieper. Charles had been thus drawn on into the heart of the country in consequence of the well conceived plan of Peter, who thought that the most effectual and ^{ausgedacht} safe way of ruining the army of his enemy, was by inducing him to march on into a district where

he could find no provisions. In furtherance of this view, the czar appeared to fly before Charles, ^{zur Beförderung} at the same time that he directed the Cossacks to lay waste, for many miles round, the tract of country through which the Swedes were about to pass. He also entrenched his own army on the right bank of the Borysthenes, between Mohilow and Orsha, in such a position as gave him a free communication into the country, from whence he drew his provisions, and with the town of Smolensko.

259 In consequence of the total want of forage, &c. the Swedes were obliged to canton their army at Mohilow, and to remain there till the month of May. The anxiety of Peter was now at its utmost, to watch the course which Charles would take when he broke up his camp. It was expected, that he would march directly to Moscow, which was what he had originally intended; and this course would have obliged Peter to hazard a final struggle at once for the very existence of his ^{Kampf} empire.

260 Charles, however, was so much dispirited by the obstacles he had already encountered, and by the ^{Hindernisse} prospect of famine, which threatened his army ^{Hungersnoth}

that he took another line of march, namely, that of advancing towards the Ukraine, which proceeding occasioned the ruin of himself and of his army. He was partly led to take the step also, by the persuasions of Mazeppa, the hetman of the Cossacks, who promised to meet and join him with a large body of that undisciplined cavalry; and also to supply him with provisions. Filled with these hopes, and trusting to these engagements, the king of Sweden turned his steps ^{Versprechung} towards the south, and Peter was too wise to offer obstacles to his progress.

He trusted to famine, and the coming winter, ²⁶¹ and, above all, to the faults of his presumptuous enemy, to do him justice. His great object ^{vermeffen} was to prevent a reinforcement of sixteen thousand men, commanded by General Lewenhaupt, from effecting a junction with Charles. With this view he advanced against them at the head of twenty thousand men; and taking advantage of a moment in their journey, when they were peculiarly embarrassed by the nature of the country they were ^{in Verlegenheit sehen} passing through, ^{Beschaffenheit} he attacked them at a place called Lesno, and, after an obstinate contest, which lasted three days, completely defeated them.

262 Misfortunes now pressed upon the undaunted Charles. Almost at the same moment he heard of the defeat of Lewenhaupt, and saw his ally, Mazeppa, arrive almost as a fugitive. Instead of a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, he brought with him only two regiments, the rest of his army having deserted him when they found he intended to betray the czar. Charles still pressed forward with the intention of reaching Bathurin, the principal town and fortification of the Cossacks, which continued still faithful to Mazeppa; but a detachment of Muscovite troops, commanded by Prince Menzikoff, and sent on by Peter, managed to arrive there before him. The town submitted to them; and in it they found the treasures of Mazeppa, and all the magazines and provisions which had been destined for the use of the Swedish army.

263 Still the Swedes advanced; though harassed on all sides by the Russians, and by the peasants of the country, whom their cruelties had rendered bitterly inimical to them. During the whole winter they suffered all the miseries which famine, want of clothing, shelter, and fuel can inflict on human nature. Numbers died from these privations.

While Charles was thus paving the way to ²⁶⁴ his own ruin, the czar, according ^{bahnen} to his usual custom, had returned to Moscow, and was occupying himself more than ever in all the arts of peace; and in the prosecution of those reforms and those ameliorations, which were rapidly regenerating his people. No branch of useful science or art, no line of trade or commerce was neglected by him. The laws and customs of the country were altered and adapted to a civilized state of society; and rewards ^{anpassen} of various kinds were liberally bestowed upon all, who, by their labours or their talents had assisted the patriotic designs of the sovereign. Early in the spring, however, Peter took the field again, and prepared for the long delayed contest with his powerful adversary.

^{verzögert} In the first month of the year, 1709, Charles ²⁶⁵ formed an alliance with a horde, the most barbarous and cruel of all the wandering tribes who inhabit near the banks of the Borysthenes, the ^{Stämme} Zaporavians. From them he obtained succours of men and provisions; and thus reinforced, he sat down, in June, 1709, to besiege the small town of Pultowa in the Ukraine, which was well stored ^{versehen} with provisions.

266 The czar now thought that the moment was arrived when he might, with advantage, risk a contest with his persevering foe. As soon as he heard that Charles was occupied with the siege of Pultowa, he marched against him. On the 15th of June, he arrived in sight of the Swedes, the river Vorskla being between the hostile forces. The army of the czar amounted to about sixty thousand men, while that of the Swedish monarch had been reduced to about eighteen thousand. Several skirmishes took place between detached parties of the two armies; and Peter succeeded in throwing reinforcements into the town of Pultowa. This was accomplished by means of a feint of offering battle to the Swedes, which occupied them while Menzikoff marched some troops without opposition to one of the gates of the town. As soon as Charles was made acquainted with this manoeuvre, he said, "I see that we have taught the Muscovites the art of war."

267 In one of the skirmishes which, as has been already mentioned, took place, Charles was shot in his heel. The bone was so shattered, that he was obliged to undergo a very painful operation, as well as to keep his bed for some days. While

in this condition, he was informed that Peter had determined to attack him. To have waited for this attack would have been considered, by him, disgraceful, and he therefore ordered his troops to march against the enemy; at the same time that he himself headed them, carried on a litter.

In the Russian army, General Bauer commanded ²⁶⁸ the right wing, Menzikoff the left, and Scheremetoff the centre. Peter, who nominally acted in a subordinate capacity, flew from place to place, where the fire was the hottest, and his presence seemed the most required. During the action ¹⁴ he received several shots in his hat and clothes, and in his saddle. Charles, on his litter, was also to be found in the thickest of the fight. At length, a cannon ball killed one of the soldiers who carried him, and shattered the litter to pieces. He then made his men carry him on their pikes. At length, after two hours hard fighting, the inequality of numbers began to tell, and the Swedes were beaten at all points. den Ausschlag geben

Charles was with difficulty placed upon a horse, ²⁶⁹ and compelled by those around him to fly. Peter,

¹⁴ June 27th, 1709.

in his journal, says, "The invincible Swedes now turned their backs, and their whole army, cavalry as well as infantry, was overthrown, with very little loss on our part¹⁵. In the ^{geworfen} flight of the Swedes, a great slaughter took place, the Russians counted on and near the field of battle, above nine thousand corpses, and between two and three thousand men were taken prisoners—among whom were several generals. The subsequent misfortunes and errors of the unhappy Charles are well known; suffice it here to say, that from this moment he ceased to be in a condition to menace his rival, Peter.

270 On the day of this great victory the czar dined in his tent with his generals, and also with the Swedish officers who had been taken prisoners, at the head of whom was Count Piper, the Swedish secretary of state. During dinner, Peter drank "to his masters in the art of war." The Swedish general, Renschild, inquired "whom his majesty was pleased to honour with the title?" — "Yourselves," replied the czar.—"Then," remarked Renschild, "has not your majesty been somewhat

¹⁵ Journal de Pierre le Grand.

ungrateful in dealing so hardly with your masters?" The czar was much pleased, it is said, with the compliment conveyed in this sentence. To his own soldiers, ^{angedeutet} Peter addressed the following flattering and affectionate speech:—"I salute you, dear children of my heart! O, you that I have formed by the sweat of my brow—children of my country, and who are as indispensably useful to it as the soul is to the body which it animates."

Menzikoff, with a portion of the victorious ²⁷¹ army, was detached by the czar in pursuit of the fugitive Swedes. He found them encamped in the country of the Zaparavians, on the banks of the Borysthenes, under the command of General Le-wenhaupt. Upon the first summons of Menzikoff, they surrendered themselves ^{Aufforderung} prisoners, to the number of fourteen thousand; and thus ended the protracted contest between the Swedes and Russians, ^{verlängert} which had commenced under such very different auspices.

Voltaire remarks, that, from all the battles ²⁷² which had taken place in the eighteenth century, which he reckons at two hundred, no real good

¹⁶ "Histoire de l'Empire de Russie, sous Pierre le Grand."

had resulted with the exception of the battle of Pultowa, ^{herborgehen} “which caused and ensured the happiness of the greatest empire on the face of the earth¹⁶.” The immediate effect of the battle of Pultowa, was a total change in all the arrangements which the previous victories of the Swedish monarch had ^{Ordnung} obliged other sovereigns and other nations to submit to. In Poland, in Saxony, in Silesia, all that Charles had ordered was instantly disobeyed. Nay, the emperor, the king of Poland and the ^{Sa fogar} other potentates who had been obliged to submit to all his capricious and tyrannical wishes, and to lick the dust under his feet, not only took measures to regain their own rights, but even prepared to wrest from Sweden the provinces which had been added to it by the valour and ability of the great Gustavus Adolphus.

Peter, on his part, laid claim to the provinces ^{Anspruch machen} of Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; ²⁷⁴ but his first and more generous act was the restoration of his ally, Augustus the Second, elector of Saxony, to the throne of Poland. In order to effect this, he hastened into Lithuania, obliged the Polish troops and people to renew their oath of

fidelity to Augustus, and then went to Thorn¹⁷, where he had the satisfaction of meeting that sovereign, and informing him that this kingdom was restored to him.

Stanislaus Leczinsky was forced to bend before²⁷⁵ the storm, and to leave Poland. This matter concluded, Peter turned his steps to Marienwerder, where he concluded a league against Sweden with the elector of Brandenburg, to which the kings of Denmark and Poland also acceded. No sooner were the negotiations concluded,^{beireten} than the czar hastened to Riga, the capital of Livonia, which his army was preparing to besiege. Here he landed the engineers, assisted himself in the preparations of the trenches, fired the shells with his own hand, and when he saw the siege so far advanced, that there was no fear of its failure, he turned his steps to St. Petersburg; of which, as he himself wrote on the evening of the battle of Pultowa, "At length the foundation stone was really laid."

^{Grundstein}

Here he busied himself in laying down with²⁷⁶ his own hand the keel of a new vessel of fifty-four guns, and in planning fresh buildings and impro-

¹⁷ October 7th, 1709.

vements. In the commencement of 1710, he attended a great festival at Moscow, which he had contrived himself, in honour of the victors at Pul-
^{veranstalten}
 towa. In the procession he only appeared himself as a major-general, the rank to which he conceived his services now entitled him.

277 In march, of the same year, ^{berechtigen} the town of El-
 bing was taken by his troops. In the following month Peter embarked on board his fleet in his new harbour of Cronslot, and proceeded to attack the town of Wyberg in Carelia, which he speedily took. In July, Riga capitulated, and the subsequent surrender of the towns of Pernau and Revel completed the conquest of the province of Livonia. To this acquisition was shortly afterwards added the other Swedish provinces, bordering on Russia, namely Esthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

278 Meanwhile, Charles the Twelfth, who had taken refuge at Bender in the Turkish dominions, was using all his efforts to induce the Porte to declare war against his successful enemy. In this he was at length successful, principally in consequence of the jealousy that power entertained of the establishments of the czar on the sea of Azoph, and the ^{Niederlassung} appearance of his vessels on the Black

Sea. In August, 1710, the Porte declared war against the czar, as did also the Khan of the Tartars, who was peculiarly disposed to be hostile to the Russian power, in consequence of the neighbourhood of his own territories to the sea of Azoph. This step was followed by the arrest of Count Tolstoy, the ambassador of the czar at Constantinople, who, with his suite, was committed prisoner to the fortress, of the Seven Towers.

No sooner had Peter heard of these hostile 279 demonstrations, than he hastened to make preparations to repel them. He left armies and fleets under his different generals to defend his northern conquests, appointed a regency to rule the interior of the kingdom in his absence, and then prepared to take himself the command of the army, which was to march to the south.

Before, however, he set out, he acknowledged, 280 on the 6th of March, 1711, his marriage with Catherine, who has been before mentioned as the beautiful Livonian girl, of the name of Martha, who was taken prisoner at the sack of Marien-^{Plünderung}bourg in 1702. Voltaire says, that the czar had privately married her in 1707, though the union was not declared till the period we are now treat-

ing of. Whatever may have been her previous conduct, to the czar she was the best of wives—devoted, submissive, yet cheering him with her ^{ergeben} good spirits, and in difficulties and adversities ^{erheitern} supporting him with her fortitude and her wise counsel. It is also said, that during the cataleptic fits to which he was subject, she had more in-^{Anfälle}fluence in calming him than any one else. At other times also she was of great use to him in ^{beruhigen} assuaging his natural ferocity. Many of those, who would otherwise have been the victims of the ^{mildern} czar's anger, owed their pardon and their lives to her intercession. With all these merits she was also, it is said, so kind to all, that she was universally beloved; and so mindful of her former low estate, that even her extraordinary ^{eingedent} elevation excited neither envy nor dislike.

281 Immediately after his declaration of his marriage, Peter commenced his journey southward, accompanied by the new czarina, who was destined ere long to be the saviour of her husband and his country. The czar ^{Retterin} had made great preparations to meet the enemy; but unfortunately he had not patience to wait for their completion. The czar's own army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and ^{Vollendung}

thirty thousand dragoons—and to these were to have been added fifty thousand Calmuck Tartars, and twenty thousand Cossacks; but neither of these latter bodies of men arrived in time. And as Peter had detached a portion of his own troops to the eastern side of Moldavia, under General Renne, his force, when he reached the river Pruth, did not exceed forty thousand men.

He stopped some time at Jassy in Moldavia; ²⁸² but finding that his reinforcements did not arrive, and that it was impossible to remain with his army in a country which could not provide them with food, he determined to advance, and in consequence, on the 19th of June, he put his army in motion, and finally encamped himself on the bank of the Pruth, near Jassy. The Vizier Baltagi Mahomet advanced against him, at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men; some say the Turkish army amounted to two hundred thousand men.

In addition to all these disadvantages to the ^{noch hinzutommend} Russians, the vizier advanced with such ^{Nachtheile} secrecy and celerity, that he was actually close to them before they were aware of it. The Turks crossed the river, so as to be on the same side of it as

the Russians; leaving their allies, the Tartars of the Crimea, on the other side, so that the Muscovites were now fairly surrounded, and by enormously superior forces.

mit weit überlegenen Streitkräften

284 In this condition they were attacked by the Turks for three days and nights successively. The Russians contended with great bravery; but on the fourth day their ammunition became exhausted, and nothing now appeared to remain for them but either to fight obstinately till they were all killed, or to surrender at discretion to their enemies.

sich auf Gnade und Ungnade ergeben

285 The czar had retired to his tent uncertain, and in despair, and the agitation of his mind had produced one of those dreadful attacks of convulsions to which, as has been before mentioned, he was subject. He gave the strictest orders that no one should be admitted; but his wife, who was about to show herself worthy of being the spouse of a hero, disobeyed, and forced her way into his presence. She threw herself at his feet, and obtained from him an abandonment of his insane plan of still contending with the myriads of enemies who surrounded him. She then persuaded him to try negotiation.

Aufgebung

wahnsinnig

In his despair he permitted Catherine to take ²⁸⁶ her own course. She collected hastily all her own jewels and valuables, as well as those of the principal persons of the Muscovite camp, and sent them as presents to the vizier and his principal officers, at the same time forwarding to him a letter from Marshal Scheremetoff, proposing peaceful overtures. At the same time that she took these steps, she summoned a council of war of the principal Russian officers to meet in her presence, at which it was unanimously agreed, that if the answer of the vizier was unfavourable, a last and desperate attempt should be made with the handful of Russians remaining, to cut a passage through his army.

Fortunately it was not necessary to have re- ²⁸⁷course to this alternative; after some hours of frightful suspense, the grand vizier proclaimed a suspension of arms ^{Ungewißheit} 19. To this he was principally ^{Waffenstillstand} led, as it is believed, by the knowledge he possessed that reinforcements were approaching the Russian army, and as the Russians were ignorant of this circumstance he was quite certain, if he

made his terms forthwith, of compelling Peter to submit to the conditions he might think proper to impose upon him. These were the surrender of the port of Azoph, the exclusion of the czar for ever from the Palus Maeotis, and the Black Sea, and the destruction of his new harbour at Taganroc. Also the exaction from him of an engagement, that he would not interfere in future in the ^{Verpflichtung} affairs of the Poles and Cossacks; ^{sich mischen} and for Charles the Twelfth the guarantee of a free passage back to his own kingdom.

288 To all these conditions Peter readily and gladly consented—and the only thing required of him, which he, much to his honour, rejected, was the giving up to the Turks, of his ally, Prince Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia. This he at once and positively refused, saying at the same time, “I would rather give up to the Turks all the country as far as Cursk, as I should still have the hopes of recovering it; but my word once forfeited, is irrecoverable; it must not be violated. ^{verwirten} Honour is ^{unerseßlich} all we have peculiar to ourselves, ^{gebrochen} renouncing that, is ceasing to be a monarch.” What made the conduct of Peter upon this occasion the more beautiful was, that undoubtedly Cantemir

had betrayed him and that the failure of this ally in fulfilling his promises, had been one of the principal causes of the czar's misfortune.

No sooner was the Russian army extricated ²⁸⁹ from its perilous situation, than Peter, who found his health much impaired by his fatigues and anxieties, proceeded ^{geschwächt} to Carlsbad to drink the waters. From hence he issued his orders for the attack of Swedish Pomerania, and the blockade of Stralsund; being determined, if possible, to drive the Swedes out of the continent of Germany.

From Carlsbad, Peter went to Dresden, where ²⁹⁰ he celebrated the marriage ²⁰ of his eldest son, the Czarovitz Alexis, with a princess of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel. The bride was a princess of merit, and deserved a better fate than that of being united with this young barbarian. All writers agree that the czarovitz was a man of brutal habits and manners, and addicted to every kind of low vice and intemperance; ^{zugethan} and that he only consented to the marriage from fear that, if he did not, his

²⁰ The marriage took place on the 25th of October, 1711, and the princess's name was Charlotte Louisa of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel.

father would exclude him from the succession. The result was such as might have been expected: ^{Thronfolge} the princess died ²¹ before she had completed her twenty-first year, and, as it has always been supposed, of the ill treatment she experienced from her husband.

291 The year 1712 was principally employed by Peter in conjunction with the kings of Denmark and Prussia, ^{Verbindung} in combats and contests with the Swedes in the province of Pomerania. In these the latter were finally worsted, and lost a portion of their territory. These operations were continued ^{befiegt} in 1713, in which year also the czar undertook an expedition against Finland.

292 He left his army still blockading Stralsund, and embarked on the Baltic in the month of May, accompanied by a naval force, consisting of one fifty-gun ship, which he sailed in himself, ninety-three gallies, sixty brigantines, and fifty large flat-bottomed boats, on board of which were embarked sixteen thousand troops. He made his descent at

²¹ Shortly before her death she was brought to bed of a son, who became eventually Emperor of Russia, by the name of Peter the Second.

Elsingford on the gulf of Finland. The landing was a work of no small danger, in consequence of the rocks and shoals on all sides. Peter, however, who commanded the naval part of the expedition, in his quality of rear-admiral, overcame successfully all these difficulties and captured the town. This success was followed by the taking of the towns of Borgo and Abo, the latter the capital of the province, and by the consequent possession of the whole line of the coast.

At Abo was a considerable public library, 293 which the czar took possession of and sent to Petersburg, where it formed the nucleus of the public library of that city. After a short campaign, Peter, returned to his dearling occupation, the building and improvement of his new capital, leaving the command of his troops in Finland to Prince Galitzin, who obtained several further advantages over the Swedes. While the czar was thus employed, he heard that the Swedish fleet, under the command of Admiral Ehrenschild, was preparing to sail to the assistance of Finland. He forthwith set sail with his fleet from Cronstadt, of which the command was given *nominally at least* to Admiral

Apraxin, und whom Peter served himself as rear-admiral.

294 They came up with the Swedish fleet at the island of Aland. ^{Susammentreffen mit} Peter landed part of his troops on the island, and placed his vessels close under the shore, where the water was very shallow. He hoped to draw the Swedish vessels, who ^{flach.} required more water to manoeuvre in, after him; and in this he was successful. Admiral Ehrenschild thought himself secure of an easy victory; but the Russian vessels, threw the Swedish fleet into disorder, many of their smaller vessels were taken, among which was a frigate of eighteen guns, on board of which was the Swedish admiral, who was also taken prisoner. The larger vessels escaped; but the consternation, even at Stockholm, was very great. This action, so glorious to Russia, took place on the 8th of August, 1714, and Peter returned triumphant to Petersburgh, having very much weakened the naval power of Sweden, and torn from her rule the whole province of Finland.

^{Herrschaft}

295 At Petersburgh he celebrated his victory; and also the birth of a daughter, whom the empress had just borne to him, by a series of fêtes, which exhibited a strange mixture of civilization

and barbarism, and in the course of which he endeavoured to impress upon the nobles and the people, the success of his reforms, and the increased consequence and glory of their country. This year he also received as a tribute of his growing greatness, congratulatory embassies from the king of Persia and from the khan of the Usbeck Tartars.

Towards the end of the year 1714, Charles ²⁹⁶ the Twelfth returned from his exile in Turkey; and his first care was to collect troops and money, with a view of carrying on the unequal contest with his more fortunate rival.

The Prussians, Danes, and Russians had been ²⁹⁷ for some time occupied in the blockade of the town of Stralsund, in Swedish Pomerania, and early in 1715, they determined to attack it in a more effective manner. Into this place the rash Charles at once threw himself; but even his presence could not avert its fate. Towards the end of the year the town, being almost reduced to a heap of ruins, ^{abwenden} was compelled to surrender to the king of Prussia; and Charles was glad to escape in an open boat to Carlsrona, where he remained all the winter.

In the year 1716 Peter undertook another ²⁹⁸ journey into foreign countries, accompanied by the

empress. After visiting several towns in the north of Germany, he met his fleet at Rostock, and went on board of it; and, after a devious navigation, arrived at Copenhagen; where ^{abschweifend} he stayed near three months, which he occupied in inspecting whatever was worth seeing in the neighbourhood.

299 While he was here an English and Dutch fleet arrived, under the command of Sir John Norris, upon which the czar proposed, that an union should take place between the British, Dutch, Danish, and Russian fleets, and that they should set sail in concert, in pursuit of that of Sweden. This was agreed to, and Peter accordingly hoisted his flag on his largest vessel, and took the command of the combined fleet. They soon however found that the Swedes had taken refuge in Carls-crona, upon which they separated; and the czar returned to Copenhagen, and always afterwards declared that the proudest moment of his life was that, in which he found himself the commander of the fleets of four different nations.

300 Sir John Norris appears to have done full justice to the naval genius of the czar, for in one of his dispatches, he says—"The improvements he has made, by the help of English builders, are

such as a seaman would think almost impossible for a nation so lately used to the sea. They have built three sixty-gun ships, which are every way equal to the best of that rank in our country."

From Copenhagen Peter went to Hamburgh, ³⁰¹ and from thence to Amsterdam, where, upon visiting the docks, and the ship-builder's yards, he was welcomed with enthusiasm by his former comrades, and fellow-labourers. This appeared to afford him much pleasure. At Amsterdam the czar left his wife, and proceeded to Paris, where he was received ²² by order of the regent duke of Orleans with great honours. These however he escaped from as much as he was able, and even ^{nach er aus} went to lodge in a house not at the court end of the town (the Hotel de Lesdiguières near the arsenal), in order that he might have his time more to himself. To the gentleman appointed to wait upon him, and who urged upon him the ^{nachdrücklich vorstellen} duties of ceremony and etiquette, he replied, "I am a soldier; a little bread and beer satisfy me; I prefer small apartments to large ones. I have no desire to be attended with pomp and ceremony, ^{bedient werden}

nor to give trouble to so many people." Upon this speech he acted: at the same time, as Lemon-
 tey ²³ observes, it may be doubtful, whether he
 would not have been offended, if these honours
 had not been tendered to him; however much he
 may have liked to refuse them.

302 To the young king, Lewis the Fifteenth, he
 was singularly gentle, kind, and attentive; to the
 courtiers he was frequently rough in his manner,
 and he did not scruple to tell them, that, in his
 opinion, the luxury and corruption of Paris would
 work the downfall of their country. He made use
 of his stay at Paris, to render his alliance with
 France more intimate, and to detach that power
 from its ancient union with Sweden. With a frank-
 ness, which is unusual in diplomacy, he said at
 once to the ministers, "My alliance is worth more to
 you than that of Sweden—and if you will pay me
 the money, you now give to that power, I will
 fulfil her engagements; and besides I will bring
 you at the same time the alliance of Prussia and
 Poland."

303 From Paris the czar, having rejoined his wife,
 travelled to Berlin, where his arrival appears to

²³ Histoire de la Regence.

have excited considerable consternation, in consequence of the uncouth ²⁴ and ^{Bestürzung} barbarous manners of his suite. In one ^{roh} respect, namely intemperance, he however suited Frederic William, the then sovereign of that country, perfectly; and their projects for lowering the power of Sweden, and obtaining possession for themselves of her provinces, were agreed to in the midst of drunken orgies, which were equally disgraceful to the taste and habits of those who thus ^{schimpflich} indulged in them.

From Berlin Peter returned into Holland, where ³⁰⁴ he occupied himself in the more civilized pursuits of buying collections of pictures, cabinets of minerals, of natural history, anatomy, books, scientific instruments, &c. with a view of bestowing them upon the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, an institution he was now forming, and of which he had ^{entworfen} drawn up the plan and arrangements himself.

At length Peter returned to his country, ³⁰⁵ followed by great numbers of artisans of various kinds, whom he had induced to enter his service; and who were forthwith turned to account by him, ^{welche sogleich von ihm in Thätigkeit gesetzt wurden}

²⁴ Memoires de la Margrave de Bareith.

in the instruction and improvement of his own more ignorant and barbarous subjects; and in the introduction into Russia of the different arts and trades of civilized life.

306 We are now arrived ²⁵ at one of the darkest and most painful periods of the life of Peter; namely the catastrophe of his ill-fated and ill-conducted son, the Czarowitz Alexis. ^{unglücklich} This ^{ungerathen} miserable young man, who was now twenty-seven years of age, had always, whenever he dared, opposed the plans and wishes of his father. During his last journey, and while he was at Copenhagen, the czar had written to his son to join him there; being probably fearful of what he might do in Russia during his absence. Instead of obeying, the czarowitz fled to Vienna, where however the emperor, unwilling to displease the czar, would not allow him to remain, and he accordingly went on to Naples.

307 As soon as Peter heard of these inconsiderate and rebellious steps of his son, his anger against him, which had so long existed concealed in his bosom, broke out with violence.

He wrote to him with menaces, and sent captain Romanzoff and Monsieur Tolstoy to him, to compel him to return to Russia. After much resistance the czarowitz submitted, and arrived at Moscow on the 13th of February, 1718. The day of his arrival he had an interview with his father, and the next day Peter published an edict, by which the czarowitz was deprived of the succession to the crown. To this was appended a renunciation of all his rights to the throne, signed by Alexis himself. ^{angehängt} ^{Entsagung}

That Peter may have been right to take this ³⁰⁸ step, in consequence of the unhappy character and brutal and degraded disposition of the czarowitz, it is easy to conceive. ^{entwürdigt} For as Voltaire observes, all the progress made by Russia under the reign of Peter would have been of no effect, had the czarowitz become sovereign of that county—nay more, it was in fact “a question between the well-fare and happiness of eighteen millions of men, and of one single person.” But what shall we say to the vindictive cruelty of the czar, in the ulterior ^{rachfüchtig} measures he adopted against his son; ^{anderweitlg} measures which as far as regarded the public good, were perfectly useless, from the moment the czarowitz was deprived of the right of succession.

309 The vindictive Peter next occupied himself in drawing up a series of charges against his son, which has reference to his previous conduct. These were put into the form of questions to him, and he was required to answer them; and was promised by the czar his pardon, in case he answered them truly. This he does not appear to have done; and he was in consequence still kept in confinement, while the czar took the opinions of the judges, the nobles, and the clergy, as to what degree of punishment they thought he ought to inflict upon his rebellious offspring.

310 The clergy answered first, and highly to their credit, inclined in their opinion to clemency. Upon this Peter returned to fresh interrogatories and fresh confessions; and submitting them to the ministers, senators, and generals, he obtained from those persons, who it must be remarked were any thing but free agents, an unanimous sentence of death against his son.

311 This took place on the 6th of July ²⁶, and on the following day the czarowitz died. An impenetrable veil hangs over the fate of this unhappy

youth. The most commonly received account is, that upon hearing the sentence pronounced against him, he was seized with an attack of apoplexy, of which he died ^{angenehmene Erklärung} 27; but the authorities, which state that he was privately put to death in prison ^{die Quellen} 28, ^{angeben} are also trustworthy; and undoubtedly the vindictive and bloodthirsty feelings, with which Peter is known to have persecuted his miserable son, even after his renunciation of his right to the succession, cannot fail to lead us to consider this as the most probable version of the story. It is impossible to palliate Peter's conduct upon this occasion, though ^{beschönigen} his country and subjects probably profited by it.

The remaining years of the life of Peter, pre- 312 sent fewer striking events than those which have been already dwelt upon; and yet they were the ones, in which the progress of his improvements ^{sich ausbreiten über} in his country, were the most rapid and the most beneficial. In May, 1719, he lost his last surviving son, by the empress Catherine, who was only five years old. As it was upon him that Peter had intended the sceptre of Muscovy to devolve in the ^{überlebend} ^{heimfallen}

²⁷ Mottley, Voltaire, Barrow, &c.

²⁸ Segur, Coxe, Bruce, Busching, &c.

event of his own death, to the prejudice of his grandson, the orphan child of Alexis, it now became necessary, that some further steps should be taken with regard to the succession.

313 The course he pursued upon this occasion marked at once the excentricity of his own character, and the arbitrary nature of his despotism. He issued an edict, by which he compelled all his natural born subjects to repair to the Kremlin at Moscow, and there to swear to bear true allegiance to whomsoever the czar might subsequently designate as his successor on the throne of Russia. This singular ceremony of swearing allegiance to an unknown autocrat occupied many weeks.

314 On the 11th of December, 1718, Charles the Twelfth had concluded his stormy life at the siege of the fortress of Fredericshall, and his death totally changed the face of affairs in the north of Europe. A peace between Russia and Sweden now seemed approaching, and the mediation of the court of France was actively employed in bringing about the arrangement, and in endeavouring to obtain tolerable terms for Sweden; while the English fleet had united with that of the Swedes, in

order to prevent its annihilation by that of its more powerful enemy. ^{Bernichtung}

Peter was enraged by these demonstrations of ³¹⁵ friendliness towards Sweden, and the manner he took of showing his anger was in every way cruel and unjustifiable. He sent two expeditions under the command of Admiral Apraxin and General Lesley ²⁹ to lay waste the coasts of Sweden. They carried terror, wherever they went, and even to the very gates of Stockholm. The barbarities and pillage they exercised are such as revolt humanity; nor was the czar ashamed afterwards to publish, as a subject of boasting, an account of these savage expeditions, during which, according to his own ^{Prahleret} statement, eight towns, one hundred and forty-one ^{Angabe} castles, thirteen hundred and sixty-one villages, twenty-six great magazines, and sixteen mines were burned and destroyed, while great numbers of the inhabitants were either butchered, or carried away into slavery. ^{niedermachen}

After these bloody executions the conferences ³¹⁶ of peace were renewed, and were finally concluded by the signature of a treaty on the 10th of Sep-

²⁹ Lemontey, Histoire de la Regence.

tember, 1721, at the small town of Neustadt in Finland. By this treaty Peter became permanently possessed of the provinces which he had already conquered, consisting of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, Carelia, Wyburg, and the adjacent islands. When the French mediator remonstrated with Peter upon the exorbitancy of his ^{anstoßend} demands, the latter only ^{vorstellen} replied ^{das Uebertriebene} by observing, "I do not choose to see from my window the territories of my neighbour." Hanover, Prussia, and Denmark, obtained also, by the same treaty, advantages at the expense of Sweden. It was upon occasion of the rejoicings for this peace that the Senate offered to Peter and at length persuaded him to accept, the titles of "Peter the Great,"—"Emperor of all the Russias,"—and "Father of his Country."

317 The pacification of the north of Europe thus accomplished, Peter was enabled to turn his undivided attention to his internal improvements, and to watch the progress of the different manufactures he had introduced. A general and improved system of police; a reform in the tribunals; a uniform and clear establishment of weights and measures; the lighting ^{Feststellung} of the towns of Petersburgh and Moscow; provisions of water and assistance in

case of fires; new and improved manufactories of arms, of gunpowder, of cordage, of cloth, of linen, and of silks; mills of various kinds; a tribunal of commerce; a council of mines. These were some of the improvements and arts of civilization, which Peter either introduced or perfected during the period we are now treating of.

He also at this time commenced the great canal of Cronstadt, and another which connected the Neva with a neighbouring river. At the same time he extended the commercial relations of Russia on all sides—even to China. And as in his endeavours to civilize his country, he even descended to apparently trivial subjects, we find him instituting and encouraging public assemblies or *soirées* of the higher classes of Petersburgh and Moscow, the regulations of which he did not disdain to draw up himself. They are said to have had a highly beneficial effect on the manners of Russian society; which however, apparently at this time were not very polished, as the penalty in the regulations, affixed to misbehaviour of any one, is, that “He should be compelled to empty the great eagle,”—i. e. to drink a vast cup or jug of wine or beer.

319 In 1722 he published a new code of laws, in which the barbarous customs of the former ones were reformed, and rendered more analagous to the wants and customs of a civilised community. ^{verbessert} ^{in Uebereinstimmung gesetzt} It was also in the same year that he instituted the great reform in the Greek church, of which he declared himself the head ^{Gesellschaft} ³⁰; while at the same time he extended a wise favour and toleration to the other sects of religion. ^{Oberhaupt} ^{gewähren}

320 This year ³¹ Peter commenced his last warlike expedition, which was directed to the side of Persia, and was intended to secure for him establishments on the Caspian Sea, and thereby increase ^{Niederlassungen} the Russian commerce. Conquests of territory were

³⁰ Shortly after his reform of the church, one of his courtiers was reading to Peter a translation of "The Spectator," in which a comparison is instituted between Peter and Lewis the Fourteenth, and the preference given to the former. Peter upon this observed—"I do not think I merit the preference given to me; but I have been so happy as to be superior to the French monarch in one essential point. I have forced my clergy to obedience and peace; and Lewis allowed himself to be subjugated by his."

³¹ 1722.

not what he sought for, but ports and harbours; or as he expressed himself upon the present occasion to Prince Cantemir, "It is not land that I want, but sea." He took advantage of revolts and disturbances which had taken place in Persia, and advanced as the friend of the Schah Hussein, an effeminate and indolent prince, whom he professed to ^{weichlich}wish to defend against his rebellious subjects, ^{vorgeben}and his encroaching neighbours, who had united to ^{anmaßend}depose him.

His troops were also directed to explore the ³²¹shores of the Caspian, and to trace the ^{erforschen}course of the rivers which fall into it. One of these bodies of troops, which had surveyed the eastern side of the Caspian, was treacherously cut to pieces by a tribe of Turcomans. This insult offered to him, determined the emperor to make a second expedition into these countries, and to command it in person. This expedition however failed in its object, after considerable sufferings had been endured by the Russian troops, in consequence of the remonstrances of the grand seignior, who ^{Vorstellung}objected strongly to the czar's crossing his territories, ^{sich widersehen}which he was obliged to do. Peter, afraid of being attacked by the Turks, and so cut off from his

retreat, yielded to these representations and returned with his army to his own country. He, however, left a small force, commanded by General Bruce, behind him, who, during the year 1723, surveyed the Caspian Sea, and encouraged the formation and increase of the Russian settlements on its banks.

322 The rest of the life of Peter was occupied in hastening on the progress of the improvements, of which he had already laid the foundations; and in the celebration of ceremonies and festivals, which were ^{die Feier} all intended to reconcile the people to the new order of things. These were however unfortunately mingled with severities and executions of several functionaries, who, as Peter thought, had neglected their ^{Beamte} duties. For though the czar could civilize his country, he failed in civilizing himself; as he showed throughout his life by that greatest proof of barbarism, a reckless and cruel waste of ^{sorglos} human life. ^{unnütze Aufopferung}

323 The glorious and useful reign of Peter was now drawing to a close. Early in 1724, his robust constitution ^{nährte sich} began to give way; and he does not appear to have met the ^{weichen} approaches of disease with that strength of mind and ^{Annäherung} courage, for which,

during the active part of his career, he had been so much distinguished. The two last remarkable events of his life were the coronation of his wife, the Empress Catherine; and the marriage of his daughter, Anne (subsequently herself Czarina of Russia), to the Duke of Holstein.

In the summer of 1724, the malady of the ³²⁴ czar assumed a dangerous aspect; and an abcess in the bladder occasioned him to suffer excruciating pain. His medical attendants persuaded him to abandon his usual activity, and to confine himself to his room for four months. After this imprisonment, ^{verlassen} feeling himself better, he insisted, contrary to medical advice, upon an expedition to the gulf of Finland. ^{Ansehen} During this, he exposed himself most imprudently, and upon one occasion waded for some time up to his knees in water, in order to assist in getting off a boat which was aground on a sandbank. ^{Geschwür} ^{marternd} ^{das Zimmer hüten} ^{Anrathen der Aerzte} ^{flott machen}

That night he was seized with a fever, and ³²⁵ an inflammation of the abdomen, and his old complaint also returned upon him with increased violence. He was carried back to Petersburgh early in the month of November in a dangerous state; and from this period he got worse and worse. ^{Unterleibs-Entzündung}

Voltaire says, that the pain and burning heat within him occasioned almost constant delirium, which perhaps may plead an excuse for his disgraceful conduct during this last scene of his life.

als Entschuldigung dienen

schimpflich

326 During the last month of his life he endeavoured to drive away the thought of death by great excesses. He was accustomed to pass through the streets of Petersburg attended by a train of musicians and drunken followers, with whom he stopped at different houses, and consumed his time and his remaining strength in drunken orgies ³². With these debaucheries were mingled the dread of death, and the most frequent and minute practices, not only of devotion but even of superstition.

heimlich

327 His remorse respecting his conduct to his son, Alexis, was also very great; and upon one occasion he cried out with much anguish, "I have sacrificed my own blood." In the very last days of his life he took advantage of a moment of comparative ease from pain to call for writing materials; but the letters he formed were so out of shape, that nothing of what he wrote could be discovered, except the words, "*Restore all to—*" He sent

benutzte er

ungestalten

³² Lemontey, Histoire de la Regence.

for his daughter, the Princess Anne, to dictate to her, but when she arrived he was speechless, and shortly afterwards he fell into an agony which lasted sixteen hours. Todestampf

Finally he expired on the 28th of January, 1725; and his widow, the ambitious Catherine, seized at once and with great dexterity upon the government, which Peter had omitted to bequeath to any one. On the 21st of March, 1725, the interment of Peter took place with great pomp and ceremony. vermachen

Thus concluded the reign of the founder of the Russian empire, whose merits and whose errors were alike conspicuous; but the former ought in our eyes greatly to outweigh the latter, if it were only from the circumstance that the good he did to his country was permanent and remained, while the evils produced by his eccentricities and faults were as evanescent as the qualities that gave them birth. hervorstechend Ausweifung vorübergehend

It is impossible to close this account of the life of Peter the Great more appropriately than by the concluding lines of Voltaire's history of this eminent man.—“The sovereigns of countries long civilized ought to say to themselves: if in the

frozen climates of the ancient Scythia, a man, assisted by his genius alone, has accomplished such great things, what ought we to do who rule over kingdoms, in which the accumulated labours of many centuries have rendered every thing easy.”

FREDERIC THE GREAT,

KING OF PRUSSIA.

FREDERIC THE SECOND, king of Prussia, to whom ³³¹ his contemporaries and posterity have equally attached the surname of "Great," was the eldest son of Frederic William the First, king of Prussia, and of Sophia Dorothea of Hanover, the daughter of George the First of England.

His father was principally remarkable for his ³³² excessive avarice, for his corporal-like love of military discipline, and for his attachment to a regiment he had formed of gigantic men, whom he was in the habit of reviewing and exercising in person every morning. His parsimony, however, did not prevent his governing his territories well, and encouraging their improvement by every means in his power; and the sums he left behind him in

the cellars of his palace at Berlin, first gave his son the idea, and subsequently the power, of aggrandizing his kingdom by the conquest of Silesia. His love of discipline also, though carried to an absurd degree of minuteness, was the cause of the supereminent excellence of the Prussian infantry, which was long considered the best in Europe. With reference to this occupation of Frederic William, George the Second was accustomed to call him, "My brother, the corporal of Potsdam."

333 One of the worst traits in the character of Frederic William was his aversion to his eldest son, which first manifested itself at a period when the latter was too young to have given him any real cause of offence. Upon one occasion, as the princess of Bareith ¹ relates, he attempted to strangle him with the cord of the window-curtain, and subsequently endeavoured to have him shot as a deserter, when his cruelties had driven him to make an unsuccessful attempt to escape into England. The emperor, by the representations of Seckendorf, his envoy at the court of Berlin, pre-

¹ The eldest and most beloved of the sisters of Frederic the Great.

vented this catastrophe: and the king, when he pardoned his son, exclaimed almost prophetically, "Austria will some day find out what a serpent she was nourished in her bosom."

Shortly after this occurrence Frederic was ³³⁴ married to a princess of Brunswick, but though she was possessed of very amiable qualities, the union was by no means a happy one. The royal pair never lived together.

During the last years of the reign of his ³³⁵ father, Frederic lived in a sort of banishment in Pomerania, and employed his time in enjoying the society of a few friends; in improving and instructing his mind; and in attempts at composition both in prose and verse. Music also was one of his pursuits, to which, during the course of his long life, he continued much attached. He played himself in a masterly manner upon the flute, and no day passed over without some portion of it being occupied in this amusement.

Frederic William died of dropsy in 1740; and ³³⁶ in the following year Frederic undertook, and within a very short time completed, the conquest of the fertile province of Silesia, then forming part of the hereditary states of Austria; but to which

that power had no other right (as compared with the superior hereditary claims of the Prussian monarch), ^{bessere} than that which superior strength is so apt to give in the political ^{überlegen} community of Europe.

337 Frederic seized the opportunity of reclaiming his long withheld rights, when the Austrian monarchy, after the death of Charles the Sixth, (occasioned by indigestion, caused by excessive eating of mushrooms ^{Pilze} ^{vorenthalten} ²) and the accession of Maria Theresa was in an unwonted state of weakness. His military career commenced with the taking of Breslau, and the battle of Molwitz. In the latter he did not display that intrepidity which afterwards so eminently distinguished him. Imagining the battle to be lost, he fled with precipitation; and is even said to have concealed himself in a windmill, which gave occasion to the saying (afterwards revived with still more effect in the case of the duke of Aiguillon at the battle of St. Cast), that the king of Prussia "had covered himself with glory and with flour ³!" Meanwhile Marshal

² Voltaire observes upon this, "And thus a plate of mushrooms changed the destinies of Europe."

³ "Il s'est couvert de gloire et de farine." A story is also current that he went to some fortified place

Schwerin had rallied the Prussian troops, which had been at first thrown into disorder by the superiority of the Austrian cavalry, and, recovering the fortune of the day, obtained a decisive victory. This battle was followed by the subjection of the other states of Austria. The Prussian husars pushed their incursions to the very gates of Vienna.

Streiferei

The next year the Prussians, led by Frederic, ³³⁸ were again victorious at the battle of Chotusitz over the Austrians, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine. Upon this occasion Frederic sent the following laconic note from the field of battle to his ally, Lewis the Fifteenth, "Sire, the prince Charles has attacked me, and I have beaten him." This occasioned, in the autumn of 1742, the treaty of Breslau, by which Austria ceded Silesia to the house of Brandenburg.

Frederic returned triumphant to his capital; ³³⁹ the embellishment of which began to be one of his principal occupations. He collected around him

where the sentinels at the gate refused him admission, and on his declaring who he was, the men answered, "It is impossible, he never could be here during a battle."

artists and men of letters and talents of various descriptions; for, as Voltaire observes, "he wished to attain to glory by all the paths that lead to it." Nor were public affairs neglected. He improved the condition of his various states; all of which he was in the habit of visiting in person. He increased his army and added to his treasure.

340 In 1744 Frederic again declared war against Austria, in conformity with a treaty he had made with the Bavarian emperor, Charles the Seventh, with the king of France, with the elector Palatine, and with Hesse. His real reason for this step appears to have been his fear of the increasing power of Maria Theresa, whose troops had conquered Bavaria, and obliged the emperor to retire as a fugitive to Frankfort. In August of that year the king of Prussia invaded Bohemia and took Prague, but was subsequently obliged to retreat with some loss into Silesia. The manner in which he united the scattered detachments of his army, and operated this retreat in the presence of a superior force, is considered as a most remarkable proof of military skill and science.

341 During the winter, and the spring of 1745, the combatants had frequent skirmishes, but with-

out any decisive effect resulting from them: but, in the month of June, Frederic obtained a complete victory over the Austrians at Hohen-Friedberg. Lewis the Fifteenth had just acquainted his ally with the victory he had gained at Fontenoy; and Frederic wrote for answer, "I have acquitted at Friedberg the bill of exchange you drew upon me at Fontenoy."

Again, in the autumn, the military talent of ³⁴² the Prussian monarch procured for him the victory of Soor. The Austrian army, led by prince Charles of Lorraine, attacked his camp unexpectedly, but though the Prussian troops were unprepared, inferior in numbers, and separated by little hollows in the ground from one another, their discipline ^{Bertiefung} and bravery, assisted by the admirable tactics of their chief, supplied all these disadvantages; and their enemies were constrained to fly, leaving six thousand of their troops either killed or taken prisoners.

Meanwhile the prince of Anhalt with another ³⁴³ army of Prussians had entered Saxony, whose elector, also king of Poland had shown hostile intentions with regard to Frederic. Anhalt took Leipsick and Torgau, and completely defeated the Saxon army at Kesseldorf on the 15th of Decem-

ber. Frederic, the day after this event, joined the prince, and marched to Dresden, from whence Augustus the Third had fled to Prague; while his capital opened its gates to the conqueror. The remains of the Saxon army, and the forces of the Austrians, which had advanced, but too late, to their assistance, retreated into Bohemia.

344

The successes, and at the same time the moderate demands of Frederic, who only required to be confirmed in the possessions which had been ceded to him by the former treaty, led Maria Theresa ^{abtreten} and Augustus king of Poland to petition for peace. Frederic acceded willingly to the proposal: and a treaty was consequently concluded at Dresden in December, 1745. By it Frederic was left in possession of Silesia, and received besides a million of crowns: and on his part he stipulated to acknowledge Francis, duke of Lorraine, ^{versprach} the husband of Maria Theresa, as emperor of Germany.

345

From 1745 to 1756 the territories of Frederic enjoyed the blessings of peace; which he so well knew how to profit by, that he eventually came to the tremendous contest of the seven years' war with an ^{schrecklich} immense increase of power, wealth, and prosperity. Upon the death of his father, the first

admonition of Frederic to his ministers was the following: "Our first care ought to be to procure the happiness of our states, and that of each of our subjects. We do not wish you to oppress them in order to enrich yourselves, but rather to have constantly before your eyes the prosperity of the country, at the same time with our ^{das Gedeihen} interests; for these two objects ought never to be separated." Nor were these vain words, but were acted upon by him to the utmost of his power during his whole reign.

Though prudent, almost to a fault, with regard ³⁴⁶ to money, he was ever generous in dispensing it when public improvements were called for. Thus, at various times, he drained and fertilized whole districts, formed roads, ^{abgraben} dug canals, ^{urbar machen} built towns and villages, instituted manufactures, and rewarded enterprising industry in all its different branches—paying for these works exclusively out of his own treasure.

In 1746, Frederic commenced his reform in ³⁴⁷ the laws and jurisprudence of his dominions. A new code, called "the Code Frederic," was formed, which received at various times, and under different chancellors, subsequent ameliorations, during

the forty years of the reign of its original author. By it was obtained, among other advantages, that of the material abridgment of delays in the affairs of justice; while ^{Abkürzung} successful endeavours were also made to diminish the expense to litigants, and to purify the courts from ^{streltende} venality. The modern Prussian jurisprudence has, ^{Bestechlichkeit} however, been censured, and with some reason, as confused and imperfect in many of its details; still, however, with all its faults, it is greatly superior to the unintelligible and absurd mixture of Roman, Saxon, ^{unverständlich} and canon law which preceded it.

348 Nor was the improvement of his military forces omitted by Frederic. The infantry, under his father, had been every thing; the cavalry had been neglected. Frederic William, who was present at the battle of Malplaquet, had there seen the imperial cavalry thrice repulsed by the infantry of France, and he, in consequence, conceived a prejudice against the former order of troops, which nothing could ever eradicate from his mind. ^{Truppengattung}

349 Frederic, whose good sense led him to see the erroneous nature of these ideas, on the contrary,

created the Prussian cavalry, at the same time that he preserved in all its force, and even improved and augmented, the infantry. He also invented a new and more efficient system of tactics. Thus, by means of continual manoeuvres, exact discipline, and constant augmentations, his military establishment, at the commencement of the seven year's war, formed not only one of the best, but also one of most numerous armies in Europe.

The interval of peace which we are now con-³⁵⁰ sidering, was also the portion of the life of Frederic in which he composed the greater number of his literary productions. It is true the love of writing, and especially of writing poetry, never deserted him during the whole course of his long career; but this period of youth and of comparative leisure was certainly and naturally the time when he wrote the most and the best. It was also the time in which he was most connected with literary men; in which his society ^{in Verbindung stehen} was graced with the presence of Voltaire, Maupertuis, Algarotti, D'Argens, D'Arnaud; and his academy dignified and enlightened by the labours of Euler, Bitaubé, Sulzer, Merian, and others of considerable merit.

351 The memorable year 1756, by commencing the seven years' war, put an end to the peaceful pursuits of Frederic. For some years previous to this epoch, Frederic had been aware of the hostile dispositions entertained towards him by the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden; and he had even discovered that there actually existed a treaty, arranging the division of his territories among them, in case of a war. Under these circumstances the king of Prussia determined upon forming an alliance with England, in order, if possible, by these means, to preserve the tranquillity of Germany; or, if that was not to be obtained, to ensure himself effectual assistance in case of a rupture. The French government became alarmed in consequence of these negotiations, and determined upon sending an ambassador to endeavour to deter Frederic from his intentions. "The king of France," says Voltaire, "wishing to retain the Prussian monarch in his alliance, sent to him the duke de Nivernois, a man of talent, and who wrote very pretty verses. The embassy of a duke and peer, and of a poet, it was thought would please the vanity and the taste of Frederic. But the latter laughed at the king of France; signed his treaty with England

the very day the ambassador arrived at Berlin; played off with great civility the duke and peer; and wrote an epigram against the poet ⁴."

These proceedings of Frederic naturally threw ³⁵² France into the alliance of the empress queen; and thus the league against him became hourly more formidable; consisting, as it now did, of Russia, Austria, France, Sweden, Saxony, and indeed of the whole Germanic empire, with the exception of Hanover.

The troops of these various enemies were ³⁵³ augmenting in number, and already approaching his territories: one course, therefore, only remained to him, to be beforehand with them, and to carry the war into hostile countries, instead of allowing it to invade his own.

He, therefore, towards the end of the month ³⁵⁴ of August, having left a certain portion of his forces on the Russian and the Swedish frontiers of his dominions, entered Saxony with an army of forty thousand men. These were arranged in three divisions, which were to take different routes and

⁴ Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même.

reunite at Dresden. They met with no opposition in reaching their destination, and took possession of the city and of the surrounding country without striking a blow; while the incapable Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, retired with his army to the strong camp of Pirna on the Elbe. Frederic determined to blockade this position; while at the same time he sent forward the greater portion of his army towards Bohemia, to meet the troops of the empress queen, which, under the command of General Brown, were advancing to the relief of the Saxons. As Brown approached, the Prussian monarch hastened to put himself at the head of that part of his forces which was destined to meet him, leaving the conduct of the blockade to the Margrave Charles of Brandenburg.

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The hostile armies met at Lowositz, on the 1st of October, and Frederic obtained a complete victory, after a very hard fought battle. Brown, not discouraged by this reverse, still determined to attempt the deliverance of the Saxon army. He did make the attempt, and with considerable skill, but failed, in consequence of the difficulty found by the Saxons in crossing the Elbe; which they were to have done at a particular moment, in

order to effect a junction with the Austrians. Brown was obliged to retreat into Bohemia; and the Saxon forces, consisting of fifteen thousand men, capitulated, and were made prisoners of war. Frederic enlisted them all among his own troops. Augustus requested that his guards might be restored to him; but Frederic answered, "that he could not consent to give himself the trouble of taking them twice over."

Finally the ill fated sovereign of Saxony was ³⁵⁶ obliged to request passports and posthorses from the conqueror of his electorate, to enable him to seek refuge in his kingdom of Poland.

While these events were passing, Marshal ³⁵⁷ Schwerin, who had entered Bohemia on the side of Silesia, had shown great skill in his manner of conducting the war against the Austrian General Piccolomini, but no very remarkable success had attended his operations.

Thus, therefore, concluded the campaign of 1756; the Prussian army taking up its winter quarters in Saxony, and living at the expense of that country.

The year 1757 commenced ominously for the ³⁵⁸ king of Prussia, by bringing into the field a great

increase of forces hostile to him. In addition to the troops of the empress queen, a large force had been set on foot by the different states of the empire. ^{auf die Beine bringen} This was called the army of the circles. An army of Russians, under the command of Apraxin, was advancing against the kingdom of Prussia. The French, with a hundred thousand men, were upon the point of invading Prussian Westphalia; and the Swedish government had announced its intention of attacking the territories of Frederic on the side of Pomerania. The forces in array against the Prussian monarch are supposed ^{in Anzug} to have exceeded seven hundred thousand men, while all that he and his Hanoverian allies could bring into the field did not amount to more than two hundred and sixty thousand.

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Under these circumstances it became the object of Frederic to begin the campaign with some successful and brilliant action, which might have the effect of slackening the zeal of the various enemies who surrounded ^{erschaffen} him. But the empress queen and her ministers, on the other hand, were anxious to act on the defensive, till all their allies were ready to cooperate with them. Some time in consequence elapsed before any engagement took place. How-

ever, on the 20th of April, a division of the Prussian army, under the command of the duke of Bevern, met Count Koenigsegg at the head of twenty thousand men in a narrow valley near Reichenberg, and drove him with considerable loss from the position he occupied, after a severe engagement.

On the 5th of May the different divisions of ³⁶⁰ the Prussian army united near Prague, where they found the Austrian troops, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine, posted in a strong camp, almost under the cannon of the town. The next day Frederic attacked the intrenchments of the enemy. At first the battle seemed lost to the Prussians, who gave way in various directions: the gallant conduct of Marshal Schwerin ^{wichen} retrieved the fortune of the day. Seeing his own regiment hesitate to advance under the fire of a battery, he ^{ansehen} seized a banner, and led the way, crying out, "He is a coward who refuses to follow me." The troops rushed on—the battery was gained—and Schwerin fell dead, still grasping the flag, which in his hand had proved the standard of victory. The Austrians after this were driven back on all sides, and were forced to take refuge in Prague, after a dreadful

slaughter; in which perished General Brown, and a great number of officers of high rank.

361 An army of forty-eight thousand Austrians was now blocked up in Prague, of which Frederic commenced the siege. He subsequently confided the care of it to Marshal Keith, while he himself advanced with the greater part of his army against the Austrian general Daun, who had been sent in all haste from Vienna upon the news of the defeat of Prague. That city was now upon the point of capitulating, and Frederic determined to hasten the catastrophe by defeating Daun and his army. The king trusted to much too good fortune, and he suffered for it. Daun had posted himself in a strong position upon the heights near Kolin. On the 18th of June Frederic attacked him:—in the commencement of the action the Prussians carried all before them, but were afterwards repulsed with great loss. Seven times did Frederic and his two brothers, Henry and Ferdinand, lead on the attack, and as often were they driven back. Finally, the Prussian monarch was obliged to retreat with the loss of half his army.

362 The battle of Kolin obliged the king to raise the siege of Prague. He then divided his army

into two parts; one of which he led himself into Saxony, and sent the other, under the command of his brother the prince royal, into Lusatia. The latter was much harrassed during his march by the Austrian troops; and lost all his baggage and a considerable number of men. Frederic, unjustly as it would appear, attributed these misfortunes to the incapacity of his brother, to whom he never afterwards ^{Unfähigkeit} intrusted any military command. He ordered him, with much harshness, to retire to Berlin; telling him, to “go home, and attend to his children, for he was fit for nothing else.”

Misfortunes now crowded upon the dismayed ³⁶³ Frederic; who, far from yielding to them, displayed the firmness, the genius, the resources of his own peculiarly undaunted mind more and more with every fresh defeat. ^{unverjagt} It might have been expected that the carnage of Kolin would have put an end to the unequal contest; and the more so, as this was followed by a reverse sustained in Prussia by Marshal Lewald, who was defeated by the immense superiority in numbers of the Russian army. Meanwhile the Swedes, with an army of seventeen thousand men, were taking possession of Pomerania. The French, under the command of the Marshal

d'Etrées, were victorious at the battle of Hastenbeck over the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian allies of Frederic; and shortly afterwards the Marshal de Richelieu, who succeeded d'Etrées in the command, concluded the convention of Closter Seven with the duke, by which the Hanoverian and Brunswick troops were prevented from acting again during the war. Richelieu pushed on, and laid waste, with circumstances of great barbarity, the country of Halberstadt, and the old march of Brandenburg; and even threatened the strong fortress of Magdeburgh. Haddick, an Hungarian general, advanced through lower Lusatia and the march of Brandenburg to Berlin, of which he took possession for four and twenty hours, and laid it under a heavy contribution. The prince of Bevern, in Silesia, sustained a defeat, in attempting to resist the progress of General Nadasti; and that province, with the exception of some fortresses, returned under the dominion of Austria.

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To complete the picture, Frederic had been condemned to the ban of the empire, and was declared to have forfeited all the territories and dignities he possessed as feudatory of that sovereign tribunal. So certain, indeed, did his enemies feel

Lehnspflichtiger

of crushing him, and with him the Protestant interest ^{stürzen} in Germany, that a priest of Bamberg, preaching a sermon at Nuremberg, before the army of the Circles, is reported, in the excess of his zeal and expectations, to have thus exhorted them:—
“The victory in this contest cannot escape us; for, in addition to our powerful army, how many sacred and blessed warriors have we not on our side? The Pope, the most Christian King, the Holy Roman Empire, and almost every sovereign! But the Protestants, who have they to support them? No one at all, but the king of Prussia, and the good God!” Providence, however, assisting the genius of Frederic, produced a very different issue to the war from that anticipated by the worthy ecclesiastic.

The first favourable turn in the affairs of ³⁶⁵ Prussia was occasioned by the Russians, after they had defeated Lewald, not profiting by their victory; but, on the contrary, retreating out of Prussia to Memel, upon the plea of the want of provisions. This unexpected step enabled Lewald, after securing that province, to march into Pomerania, where he drove the Swedes before him, till having cleared the territories of his master of the invaders, he

found himself, before the end of the year, the invader in his turn of the Swedish part of the province.

366 But it was to Frederic himself that was reserved the glory of really restoring his own fortune. Voltaire says, that, at one moment, his courage began to give way, and he thought of putting an end to his life. Such an act was apparently not in the character of Frederic, and the fact may reasonably be doubted. However the truth may really have been, he certainly eventually came to a determination more worthy of himself and his fame, namely, that of marching against the combined armies of France and the empire. The troops of France were commanded by the prince de Soubise; those of the Circles by the prince of Hildburghausen; together they amounted to sixty thousand men; while the force which the king of Prussia was able to bring against them hardly consisted of half that number.

367 Frederic came up with his enemies near the village of Rosbach, and being determined on a battle, he resolved to supply his own deficiency of strength by stratagem. He wished to draw them from their strong ^{Kriegslager} intrenchments, which he

effected by pretending a retreat. On the 5th of November Soubise, afraid that the little army of Prussians, whom he already considered as his victims, should escape him, abandoned his camp, and marched towards them. Upon seeing this, the king of Prussia suddenly formed his troops into order of battle, and led them to the charge; having first excited their courage with the following short and characteristic harangue:—

“MY FRIENDS!

“The moment is now arrived, when the pre-³⁶⁸servation of every thing that is and ought to be dear to us depends upon the force of our arms, and upon our good conduct. The time does not permit me to make you a long speech, which indeed would be useless. You know that there is no suffering, no privation, no degree of cold, no want of rest, no ^{Entbehrung} danger, however great it may have been, which I have not shared with you all; and now you see me ready to lay down my life with you, and for you. I only demand from you that promise of attachment and fidelity of which I myself offer you the example. I will add here, not for the purpose of encouraging you, but as a mark of my gratitude, that henceforward your pay

will be doubled. Come on then, my friend, with courage and confidence in the Almighty."

369 The unexpected and vigorous attack of the Prussians almost immediately threw their enemies into disorder; and a panic spreading through the ranks, the whole army gave way, after sustaining only one or two charges, and the battle became a rout. The French soldiers threw down their arms, ^{Niederlage} in order to fly the quicker: in spite of which six thousand were taken prisoners; among whom were eleven generals, and two hundred and fifty officers. Seventy-two cannons, twenty-two standards and a great number of crosses of the order of St. Lewis were also taken. The latter the Prussian hussars, in ridicule, attached to their button-holes. About two thousand men were killed. The loss of the Prussians was very trifling. The approach of night saved the rest of the flying army.

370 From his glorious victory Frederic was called away by the disasters, already mentioned, of the prince of Bevern in Silesia. By the 4th of December Frederic had arrived near Lissa, with all the forces he could by possibility collect; which, however, amounted to hardly one-third of those of the Austrians he found there opposed to him,

under the command of Marshal Daun. Their army is said to have consisted of eighty thousand men. The next day the king of Prussia gave them battle, and completely defeated them. The destruction of human life was tremendous; four thousand of the Austrians: and the victors took near twenty thousand prisoners.

After the battle was over, Frederic cast his ³⁷¹ eyes on the bloody scene of it; and they filled with tears, while he cried out in a melancholy tone, "When will my misfortunes cease?"

The king passed the next night at Lissa, in ³⁷² the former quarters of the Austrians, where were repeated to him many of the insulting and foolish remarks that had been made by them with respect to him and his army. "I pardon them willingly," replied he, "all the foolish things they may have said, in consideration of those they have done!"

The victory of Lissa was followed by the ³⁷³ siege and recapture of Breslau: and by the time the different armies went into winter quarters, the military talents of Frederic had recovered to him nearly the whole of his territories.

The year 1758 opened with proposals of peace ³⁷⁴ made by Frederic to his enemies, which were

however rejected. The marshal de Richelieu commenced the campaign by the most inhuman ravages of a part of the Prussian dominions; these were put a stop to, and the invaders repulsed, by the troops under the command of Prince Henry of Prussia.

375 The first exploit of Frederic in this campaign was the capture of the strong fortress of Schweidnitz in Silesia. He was not equally fortunate in the blockade of Ollmutz, which he was obliged to abandon, in consequence of the total want of provisions in his army; Daun having, with considerable ingenuity, cut off all the supplies.

376 After this he turned his attention to the Russians, who, under the command of Count Fermor, had, during the winter, taken possession of his kingdom of Prussia; and had since advanced as far as Frankfort on the Oder, he found the Russians engaged in the siege of Custrin, of which the citadel resisted them, though the town had been burned to the ground. The Prussian monarch obliged them to raise the siege: and then, having passed the river, he compelled them to come to an engagement near Zorndorf. The forces of Frederic amounted to thirty thousand men, while those of

the Russians are reckoned at fifty thousand. The battle was long and bloody; and, at the conclusion of it, both sides claimed the victory; which, however, it would appear remained with the Prussians, as, in addition to the number of cannons, standards, and prisoners taken by them, the Russians were eventually obliged to retire as far as Lansberg, without venturing to renew the engagement. The battle of Zorndorf took place on the 25th of March.

Frederic, who had never a moment's respite ³⁷⁷ allowed him, no sooner saw the Russians repulsed, ^{Ruhe} than he was obliged to hasten towards Dresden, leaving a part of his army under the command of Count Dohna, to observe the Russians. The army of Maria Theresa, commanded by Daun and Laudon, and that of the Empire, commanded by the prince of Deux-Ponts, had united, and were advancing in concert against the capital of Saxony; at the same time ^{verehnt} that a portion of their forces was employed in the siege of the fortresses of Neisse and Cosel. The king of Prussia determined first to relieve the two latter places; but, having advanced as far as Hochkirchen, where he pitched his camp, he was there successfully surprised and

attacked by Daun and Laudon, on the 14th of October. The slaughter on both sides was dreadful; but the Prussians suffered the most, and lost almost the whole of their baggage and artillery, besides the irreparable loss of two of their best generals, Marshal Keith and Prince Francis of Brunswick. The Austrians took many prisoners, and among others, Prince Maurice of Anhalt Dessau. The king himself was wounded. Frederic had been aware, the day before the battle, of the danger of his position, ^{hatte eingesehen} but was obliged to wait there for the convoy of provisions, without which it was impossible for him to move. "Sir," said Marshal Keith to him, "if the Austrians now leave us quiet, they deserve to be hanged." "It is to be hoped then," answered the king, "their fear of us will exceed that of the gallows." After the battle, Frederic was obliged to retreat to Dober-schutz.

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Under this tremendous reverse, the genius and resources of Frederic, ^{fürchterlicher Glückswechsel} as usual, appeared to expand themselves. After reposing the remains of his army for a few days, and being joined by the prince Henry and a few regiments, he marched to Neisse, and the Austrians, on his approach, raised

the siege of that place, as well as of Cosel. Imitating the undaunted firmness of their sovereign, the generals Golz and Werner obliged the enemy to evacuate upper Silesia. Colberg, which had been besieged by the Russians, was successfully defended; and at the end of October, the Russians abandoned entirely the new march of Brandenburg and Pomerania, after having committed great devastations in both those provinces. The Count Schmettau, during these events, continued to resist Daun's attack upon Dresden. Meanwhile the prince of Deux-Ponts was marching towards Leipsick, and Haddick to Torgau. But General Wedel (who had previously driven the Swedes out of the march of Brandenburg) succeeded in repulsing Haddick from Torgau: while Dohna, hastening from Pomerania and joining Wedel, assisted in beating Haddick at Eulenburg; and in forcing the prince of Deux-Ponts to abandon his designs against Leipsick. Finally, Frederic himself returned from Silesia to deliver Dresden, and obliged Daun to retire into Bohemia. Dohna again returned to the attack of the Swedes; shut up their general Hamilton in Stralsund, and took up his own winter quarters in Swedish Pomerania, where, during the

severe season, advantages continued to be obtained by the Prussians.

379 Thus by most admirable, but nearly incredible, exertions, the campaign of 1758 concluded with the almost simultaneous relief of the fortresses of Neisse, Cosel, Colberg, ^{gleichzeitiger Entsatz} Dresden, Torgau, and Leipsick; and the Prussians remained also possessors of Saxony, Silesia, and Pomerania.

380 Hitherto, the Prussian monarch had been able to carry on an offensive war against his enemies; but their resources were so infinitely greater than his, that the numbers of their troops, in spite of repeated disasters, remained nearly the same, while his were very greatly diminished. He was consequently obliged, during the year 1759, to content himself with acting as much as possible on the defensive.

381 The campaign began with several small advantages on the side of the Prussians. They took the town of Erfurt, surprised many convoys of provisions, and upon different occasions made a considerable number of prisoners. Their first reverse was the battle of Zullichau, in Silesia, fought on the 23d of July, where the Prussian army, under General Wedel, was defeated by Soltikof,

the Russian General. The loss on both sides was considerable, and nearly equal; but the Prussians lost several cannon and standards, and were obliged to quit the field of battle. The consequence of this victory to Soltikof, was his junction with the Austrian General Daun; and their united forces then amounted to ninety-six thousand men.

Frederic, upon the first news of the disaster ³⁸² of Zullichau, hastened to put himself at the head of his discomfited army, which, by means of reinforcements, ^{geschlagen} he made up to forty-eight thousand men. With this force, one half of that brought into the field by the Austro-Russians, the king found himself under the necessity of giving battle. Accordingly, on the 12th of August took place the bloody engagement of Cunersdorf, otherwise called the battle of Frankfort. The Prussians performed prodigies of valour, but both the superior number of the enemy, and the situation of the ground was against them; and after a continued contest of six hours, they were entirely defeated. The loss of the Prussians in killed and wounded was above eighteen thousand men: that of the Austrians and Russians above fifteen thousand. The Prussians lost also all their artillery, and

most of their generals and persons of distinction were wounded. The king had two horses killed under him, and his clothes were pierced with balls in several places. "If," said Soltikof, "I gain such another victory, I shall have to return alone to Petersburgh, to carry the news of it myself."

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The activity of the Prussian monarch and his generals after these two reverses, was as remarkable as the want of it in the victors. Frederic flew from place to place, and his brother Henry did the same, animating their handfuls of troops; surprising convoys; taking small detachments prisoners; ^{übertumpeln} opposing themselves to the advancing enemy; and recovering fortresses, which, at the first news of the battle of Cunersdorf, had capitulated. Eventually, the only real advantage gained by the Austrians and Russians, in consequence of their two victories, was the recovery of Dresden and the small territory round it: the remainder of Saxony continuing in the possession of the king of Prussia.

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But the disasters of Frederic were, by no means, at an end. Towards the conclusion of the campaign occurred the fatal affair of Maxen, in which the General Fink, imprudently resisting the very superior army of Daun, lost his whole force,

consisting of ten thousand men, who were all either killed or taken prisoners, — the latter being also his own fate. This was followed by the loss of a corps of troops under the command of General Dierecke, who were taken prisoners as they were crossing the Elbe, near Meissen; and by the Swedes obtaining possession, by surprise, of the town of Anclam, and taking prisoner in it General Mantefel, who had previously, during the campaign, obtained several advantages over them.

In 1760, Frederic and the king of England ³⁸⁵ again offered peace to the allies, and the French government seemed inclined to accept it; but the other enemies of Frederic, and especially the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, were determined to annihilate the already enfeebled monarchy of Prussia: a consummation which nothing could have prevented but the personal talents of its sovereign. The Russian army was, in consequence, increased by a reinforcement of fifty thousand men; and the plan of the campaign was decided to be the simultaneous invasion of all the territories of Frederic.

La Motte Fouquet, a Prussian commander, was ³⁸⁶ posted near to Landshut, in a fortified camp, with the view of preventing the attack of the fortress

of Glatz, by the united armies of the Austrians under Laudon, and the Russians under Müffling. The latter determined to dislodge Fouquet; and with that intent, attacked his ^{vertreiben} camp in five different places at once, and with forces at least ten times as strong as those under the command of the Prussian general. The result was what might have been expected; after a bloody combat, the Prussians were defeated, and those who had not fallen on the field, were taken prisoners, including the general himself. This disastrous action took place towards the end of July, and occasioned the surrender of Glatz.

387 Soltikof, during this time, was marching with the great Russian army towards Breslau, whither also Laudon bent his steps, and actually commenced the siege of that important place. He was, however, soon obliged, by the superior military skill of Prince Henry of Prussia, to raise it, and to retreat; and Soltikof was compelled to follow him.

388 The king, who had been employed near Dresden, in repulsing by turns the different armies commanded by Daun, Lascy, and the prince of Deux-Ponts, now hastened to the defence of Silesia.

Daun and Lascy followed him, and when Frederic arrived near Leignitz, he found the forces under the command of Daun, Lascy, Laudon, and Czer-nichef prepared to attack him. Aware that his army was too feeble to resist those of the enemies if united, he deceived, and divided them. Then falling on the army of Laudon, on the 14th of August, he completely defeated it, before his brother generals could come to his assistance.

Meanwhile General Hulan, who had been left ³⁸⁹ by Frederic in Saxony to observe the movements of Deux-Ponts, had been obliged, in consequence of twelve thousand fresh troops having been brought to the aid of the prince by the duke of Wurtemberg, to retreat to the fortified camp of Stahlen. The prince and duke attacked him there, and were repulsed with the loss of thirteen hundred prisoners.

On the other hand the Swedes were by no ³⁹⁰ means inactive, but continued their attacks upon Pomerania, always with superior force, and sometimes with success; while the Russian and Swedish fleet, co-operating with a part of the Russian land forces, attacked the fortress of Colberg on both elements. The latter were afterwards driven from

before the place by the General Werner, who subsequently marched forward against the Swedes.

391 The battle of Leignitz had prevented any efficient junction of the Russians and Austrians in ^{wirtsam} Silesia. Soltikof retired into Poland, pursued by Prince Henry; while the king continued for some time with his great army opposed to Daun, employing himself by means of the most skilful, rapid, and extraordinary marches, in cutting off his retreat from Bohemia, in which he completely succeeded. Thus Berlin was left comparatively defenceless, and Lascy and the Russian general, Tottleben, took possession of it, and levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants, while the Cossacks pillaged and laid waste the whole surrounding country, and the Prince Esterhazy placed a garrison in Potsdam. A vast number of prisoners of different nations, who were detained at Berlin, were upon this occasion released.

392 Frederic, upon hearing of the fate of his capital, hastened to its succour, but heard by the way that his enemies had already evacuated it. Upon this he turned towards Saxony, driving the ^{geräumt} army of the empire before him. In passing through the forest of Torgau he again found Daun and

Lascy opposed to him. The consequence was a most sanguinary and protracted engagement, on the 3rd of November, in which the Prussians, after many vicissitudes, and only by means of almost incredible ^{Glückswechsel} prodigies of valour, were successful. Daun retreated during the night, having lost in killed and wounded nine thousand men, and in prisoners eight thousand; besides six generals, two hundred and sixteen officers, fifty cannons, and thirty standards. The Prussian loss in killed and wounded was very little inferior to that of their enemies. The king and Daun ^{geringer} were both wounded during the action. At six o'clock in the evening the Austrian general was so certain of the victory on his side, that he actually dispatched a courier to Vienna to announce it.

It is related that Frederic, after this battle, ³⁹³ approached during the night a fire, where some of the grenadiers of his own regiment were sitting and entered, as was his habit during his campaigns, into conversation with them. One of them said to him at length, "Where were you during the battle? Generally you lead us yourself where the fire is hottest, but this time nobody saw you, and it is not right to abandon us so." The king

replied with mildness, that he had remained at the left wing of his army, which had prevented him from being at the head of his own regiment. While speaking, the heat of the fire obliged him to unbutton his great coat, and a ball dropped out, which he had received in his clothes. The hole the ball had made in the great coat and coat were also perceptible. Upon this the enthusiasm of the soldiers was no longer to be restrained. They cried out, with all the tenderness ^{unterdrückt} of expression belonging in the German tongue to the singular pronoun, „You are our own old Fritz; you share in all our dangers with us; we will all die for you!” There is something in this simple language of the common soldiers more affecting and more gratifying than the most studied harangues or pa-
gefälliges negyrics.
Lobpreisung durchdachte Rede

394

This victory enabled Frederic to send reinforcements in various directions, and thus, aided by the unwearied exertions of both commanders and soldiers, to compel his enemies, before the end of the campaign, to evacuate Silesia, Pomerania, and the Electoral March. Daun retired for the winter under the cannon of Dresden. Frederic remained

with his army in Silesia for some time, and afterwards took up his quarters at Leipsic, which town had been taken and recovered during the previous campaign. wiedererobert

Although the conclusion of the year 1760 saw ³⁹⁵ Frederic victorious, his adversaries, in the commencement of the following year, had increased hopes of being able very shortly to put an end to the war by his entire destruction. His resources in money, they were aware, were cruelly diminished; his various territories completely ruined and laid waste; and his immense losses in soldiers not to be repaired. Under these discouraging circumstances ersehen the firmness and resolution of the Prussian hero alone saved him from the fate, which in expectation was anticipated for him.

The campaign of 1761 was a defensive one on ³⁹⁶ the part of Frederic. By rapid marches and great activity he contrived for the most part to keep the superior forces of his enemies at bay. For a considerable time he prevented the abhalten junction between Laudon and Daun with the Austrian army, and that of the Russians led by Butterlin: but at length the latter, having bombarded Breslau, succeed in passing the Oder and joining the Austrian forces.

Upon this the king of Prussia, with his small army took possession of the strong camp of Bunzelwitz, which he fortified so successfully, that though his enemies surrounded him, and attacked him with one hundred and thirty-two thousand men, they were never able to dislodge him; till at length they were forced themselves to separate, from the want of the means of subsistence.

397 In Poland General Platen, who had been sent there by Frederic for the purpose of destroying the Russian magazines, defeated General Cherepow, who, with three thousand men accompanied a large convoy of provisions and military stores. He took the general and eighteen hundred of his men prisoners, and burnt the stores.

398 This advantage, however, was fully counter-balanced by the loss of the fortress of Schweidnitz, ^{aufgewogen} which was taken by assault, and with it the garrison, consisting of about three thousand men. The possession of this important place enabled the Austrians for the first time to take up their winter quarters in Silesia.

399 The campaign concluded with the reduction of Colberg by the united arms of Russia and Sweden. That fortress had resisted successfully

all attacks both by sea and land, but was finally reduced by famine; the king of Prussia and his generals having made great efforts, though in vain to throw provisions into the place.

It was during this year that Frederic sent⁴⁰⁰ embassies to the grand signor and the khan of Tartary, with the view of inciting the one to make an irruption into Hungary, and the other into Russia. The Austrians were much alarmed at these negotiations, which perhaps was one of the causes that in the following year rendered them the less unwilling to make peace.

It was also during the course of this year⁴⁰¹ that a plot was laid to carry off Frederic and deliver him to the Austrians. A Silesian gentleman, the baron de Warkotsch, and a priest were the contrivers of it. From the undaunted courage and natural security of Frederic the success of such a plan was easy and almost certain. Fortunately a letter was intercepted which betrayed the whole scheme, and the king of Prussia was reserved for a far different destiny.

The hardships and privations endured by Frederic during these latter campaigns, were unusually great. He frequently slept on the bare earth, and

always shared the labours of the meanest soldier when in his hurried marches. One morning, on setting off, ^{Eilmärschen} he said to those around him, "Be so good as to take a truss of straw with you to-day, that I may not be obliged to sleep on the hard ^{Bündel} ground, as I was last night!"

403 In the beginning of 1762, fortune again began to smile on Frederic. Elizabeth, empress of Russia, his most inveterate foe, died on the 5th of January, and was ^{hartnäckig} succeeded by Peter the Third, the most enthusiastic admirer of the Prussian monarch. The new emperor immediately concluded a peace with Frederic, to which Sweden also acceded, and his troops were commanded to leave ^{beitreten} the Austrians, and uniting themselves with the Prussians, to obey implicitly the orders of the king.

404 The great object of Frederic was now to regain possession of Schweidnitz, and the plan of the campaign was arranged accordingly. Several successes on a small scale were obtained by the Prussians in the early part of the year; and at length, on the 16th of August, a considerable one was gained by the duke of Bevern at Reichenbach. He resisted most gallantly the combined ^{auf das Tapferste}

attacks of several Austrian generals. Their troops were eventually repulsed on all points, and a considerable number of them were either killed or taken prisoners.

On the 10th of October the king of Prussia ⁴⁰⁵ obtained possession of Schweidnitz by capitulation; and took prisoners in it, two hundred and eighteen officers, and eight thousand seven hundred and eighty common soldiers. Frederic, after this exploit, hastened into Saxony to the assistance of his brother Prince Henry; but did not arrive in time to partake in the glory of the victory of Freyberg, which had been already achieved by the prince. On the 29th of October his troops attacked the allied forces of Austria and the empire, who gave way after a considerable slaughter, and fled beyond the Mulde, losing numerous prisoners, cannon, and standards. The prince subsequently pursued them into Bohemia, and sent ^{nachgehends} forward General Kleist, who pushed his ravages to the very gates of Prague, ^{Streiferei} ruined the great Austrian magazines at Saatz; and turning to Franconia, ^{zerstören} levied contributions upon Bamberg, Nuremberg, and Eichstadt, in which towns he also placed Prussians garrisons.

406 By this time the allies were grown weary of the war; and finding that the marquess of Brandenburg (as they contemptuously styled him) was not, as they had expected, to be crushed with facility, they at length consented to a truce, which ^{überwältigen} was concluded on the 24th of November. This was followed by negotiations for a peace, which ended in the treaty of Hubertsburgh, signed on the 13th of February, 1763. By this treaty it was stipulated that the different powers should retain possession of the territories they were possessed of previously to the war. Thus after a seven year's struggle, a vast waste of blood and treasure and immense ^{Verschwendung} accumulation of human misery, nothing ^{Zuwachs} substantial was gained on either side. The allies, ^{wesentliches} however, sat down under the disgrace of defeat from an inferior foe, while Frederic had ^{sich gefallen lassen} acquired for himself those unfading laurels, which ^{unverwundlich} continue still to encircle his name.

407 Nothing is more remarkable in the character of Frederic during this unequal contest, in which his kingdom and his very existence were perpetually at stake, than the power he possessed of ^{auf dem Spiel standen} turning his thoughts to other and far different subjects. He was constantly employed, as in a time

of profound peace, with his literary pursuits, his correspondence with his friends, and the composition of his verses. At the moment when his fortunes were the lowest, just before the battle of Rosbach, he wrote a long poetical epistle to his friend, the Marquess d'Argens, and another to Voltaire. It is upon record also, that the evening before a battle, a general, who came to him for orders, found him occupied in correcting a strophe in an ode he was composing; and the numerous compositions both of prose and verse in his works, which bear the dates of the years we have just been considering, prove satisfactorily that his mind was capable at one and the same moment of uniting the arts of peace with the conduct of war.

From the year 1763 to the time of his death, Frederic devoted himself assiduously to the internal improvement of his dominions, and to the healing of the deep wounds inflicted on them by the ravages of the seven years' war. In these pursuits he was eminently successful.

In 1773 Frederic increased his territories by the accession of a part of Poland, which devolved to him by the treaty for the partition of that kingdom, agreed upon between the Empress Catherine

of Russia, Maria Theresa, and the Prussian sovereign. Undoubtedly this appropriation of countries, which in no way belonged ^{3ueignung} to the sovereigns who took possession of them, was most unjust and indefensible. At the same time it must be allowed, that the temptation to Frederic must have been peculiarly great, as he thus acquired, without striking a blow, a most advantageous frontier for his hereditary states. Much however as we have seen of late years of the cutting and carving of different states, to please and advantage the great powers of Europe, nothing has ever been done so glaringly ^{offenbar} unjust as the first partition of Poland.

410

In 1778 Frederic once more for a short time took the field at the head of an army; and, as on former occasions, again, for the purpose of resisting the overweening pretensions of the house of Austria, and for ^{anmaßend} defending the liberties of the Germanic body, and the rights of its princes from imperial encroachment. On the death of Maximilian Joseph, ^{Eingriff} elector of Bavaria (which occurred, December 30th, 1777), his nearest relative, Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, had taken possession of his territories; but had been subsequently persuaded by Austria to acknowledge them as fiefs of the empire, and

of Bohemia. The object of Austria was to take a portion of Bavaria for herself, and to leave the remainder in the hands of the elector, merely as a tributary to the imperial court. In consequence of these plans, the imperial troops took possession of the electorate. Frederic was, as may be supposed, by no means an unconcerned spectator of these proceedings. He had espoused the cause of the duke of Deux Ponts, the ^{sich angenommen} next heir to the Elector Charles Theodore; and having vainly endeavoured to restrain the Austrian rapacity by means of negotiations, he finally declared war against that ^{zügeln} power in 1778.

Though now considerably advanced in years, ⁴¹¹ he led, as of old, his troops in person; and entered Bohemia at their head, where he found himself opposed to a large army, commanded by Lascy and Haddick. Prince Henry, who with another army had entered Saxony, where Laudon was opposed to him, endeavoured afterwards to effect a junction with his brother, as had been agreed upon between them. This he found to be impossible, in spite of a very masterly march, which he made into Saxony; while Frederic retreated very skillfully from the banks of the Elbe,

still preserving his winter quarters on the borders of the enemy's country. During this campaign nothing occurred but skirmishes, which almost invariably turned to the advantage of the Prussians, ^{ohne Ausnahme} whose cavalry was found to be very superior to that of the Austrians.

412 The commencement of the ensuing campaign offered no remarkable events, and it was early ended by the peace of Teschen, which took place in May, 1779. By this treaty Austria was obliged to desist from her unjust pretensions, and to recog-
^{abstehen} nise the succession of Bavaria in the lawful family. ^{anerkennen}
 This short and bloodless war, Frederic was accustomed to call ⁵ "The lawsuit, in which he went
 like a bailiff to levy an execution."
^{Prozess}
^{Gerichtsdienster} ^{erheben}

413 Thus was the king of Prussia successful in his last as he had been in his former wars, though with less bloodshed. Nor was he less so in the concluding public act of his reign. Subsequently to the peace of Teschen, the emperor, Joseph the Second, had formed a plan for obliging the elector of Bavaria to exchange his territories for the Au-

⁵ Lettres du Prince de Ligne.

strian Netherlands, which were to be erected in his favour into the kingdom of Burgundy. Frederic, who regarded this project as an infraction of the peace, and also of the constitutions of the em-^{Bruch}pire, formed in July, 1785, a Germanic confederation, consisting of the principal princes of the empire, for the purpose of preventing the designs of the house of Austria. The emperor was so much intimidated by this union, that he gave up the design.

The glorious and useful life of Frederic the 414 Great was now drawing to a close. In the beginning of 1786 his health began to give way, under the increase of infirmities, and the perpetual wear^{weiden} and tear of the anxieties and labours of government. He sunk gradually, but with firmness, into the tomb; still to the last performing the functions of a sovereign. The day before his death, he saw his secretaries as usual, and signed the necessary letters, though from extreme feebleness his signature presented nothing apparent but a blot of ink. That evening he also gave the countersign to the garrison; and the next morning (August 16, 1786), at twenty minutes past two in the morning, he had ceased to exist; "And one of the greatest charac-^{Lebenswort}

ters" (to use the words of Mirabeau) "that ever occupied a throne was no more, and one of the most perfect moulds that nature ever formed or organized was broken!"

415 Frederic's disorder was a complete giving way of the frame which ended, as is frequently the case, in dropsy. He was buried in a metal coffin in the chapel at Potsdam, without ornament—save the sword which had won so many battles, and which was placed upon it. When Napoleon came to Potsdam, he carried away the sword, which was subsequently lost. One hero should not surely have thus violated so interesting a relic of another.

416 Frederic^{entwelfen} the Second, King of Prussia, was undoubtedly one of those extraordinary men, "whose deeds" (as Lord Bolinbroke expresses it, when speaking of John, duke of Marlborough), "performed in the compass of a few years, are sufficient to adorn the annals of ages."^{Zeitraum}

417 He perhaps united and concentrated in his single person more of the qualities of a great man, than any hero, statesman, or monarch; of whom we have accurate knowledge in modern times. As a warrior, his fame does not rest alone upon his victories, though they were both numerous and

decisive—nor upon the provinces he conquered, though these at present form the most fertile part of the Prussian empire; but upon his unshaken constancy and firmness during reverses; upon that heroism of mind during adversity, which he possessed in so eminent a degree, and which is a quality the more admirable, on account of its peculiar rarity. During the seven years' war, when, after incredible exertions, he had been baffled on all sides by the preponderating power of that tremendous league, which threatened annihilation to his kingdom, and almost produced it—when his own family joined with the whole nation, and besought him to make peace on any terms—he alone remained inflexible and unintimidated—and he left Berlin, to beat the French at Rosbach, and the Austrians at Lissa.

Undoubtedly the love of war and of conquest, ⁴¹⁵ at all times a most unjustifiable propensity in any sovereign, was too inherent in the nature of Frederic. He was anxious to increase his territories, and he was proud of his skill, as a leader. Voltaire informs us, that, in the history of the war of Silesia written by Frederic, the following statement of his reasons (in addition to his hereditary claims)

for commencing that contest was given, but which Voltaire expunged from the work: "Ambition, interest, ^{anstreichen} and the desire to make myself conspicuous got the better in my mind of all objections: ^{sich auszeichnen} and the war was resolved upon ⁶."

419 This was the resolution that influenced his whole life. Having once tasted the cup of victory, he became too ready again to drain ^{Sich} the intoxicating draught. To which must be added, ^{austrinken} that from that moment he found himself in a position, from whence it was difficult to recede. His new acquisitions of territory were not ^{zurücktreten} tamely acquiesced in by other powers. He was ^{sich ruhig gefallen lassen} forced to defend them by the sword; and hence arose the prolonged butchery of the seven years' war. It is indeed painful to think how much more benefit Frederic, with all his talents, and all his industry, might have conferred upon his people, had his life been one of peace instead of war. Even the great improvements and ameliorations he actually did effect in his different states, and in the condition of his subjects, only make us the less willing

* Mémoires pour servir à la Vie de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même.

to excuse the time, the blood, the treasure he wasted in war; which might all have been so advantageously employed in promoting the happiness of mankind.

As a legislator and a statesman his merits are 420 well known: in the character of the former he gave to his country a new, and in many points of view, an admirable code of laws; which during the whole course of his long reign was invariably administered with the strictest justice and impartiality. ^{verwaltet} In that of the latter he raised the Prussian monarchy from insignificance to importance, and gave it a rank among the nations of Europe, which ^{Unbedeutsamkeit} its narrow limits had before denied to it: while in both capacities he was remarkable for his toleration ^{Beziehungen} in matters of religion.

Such was Frederic as a sovereign,

421

“The state’s whole thunder born to wield,

And shake alike the council and the field.”

Let us now consider him as a philosopher and a literary character.

The extent of his knowledge and information 422 in the different departments of history, poetry, and science was truly surprising; considering how short and hurried were the periods he could ever have

given to study. In science especially his acquirements excited admiration; as it is well known ^{erworbene Kenntnisse} how intense is generally the application necessary for those, who wish to make themselves masters of the abstruser mysteries of philosophy.

423

As however there is no human character without its blemishes, so was that of Frederic deformed by one, which the admirers of his fame can never cease to lament. His studied and notorious neglect, and even ridicule of religion, began early in his career, dimmed his brightest glories, and shed a hopeless gloom over his end. But though no adequate excuse can be offered for so unpardonable a fault—unpardonable above all men in a sovereign, whose example has so wide-spread an effect above all men—still some palliation in *his case* may be found from the nature of his education, ^{Beschönigung} and from the circumstances of his early friendships. Religion was inculcated on him by his stern father; and inculcated ^{einschärfen} not after the mild persuasions of the gospel ^{streng} ^{Evangelium} but with blows, and every species of ill treatment; while his intimacy with Voltaire, whose long life was one series of persecutions against Christianity, strengthened, if it did not originate an early taste for ridiculing those sacred doctrines, which were

only connected in his mind with the unjust severities of his barbarous parent.

As an author Frederic stood, among kings at ⁴²⁴ least, on a very proud eminence. In prose, his History of the House of Brandenburg must always be considered an excellent work; while the fine passages, which occur frequently in his poem upon "The art of War," prove that he possessed the genius of a true poet. Writing, as he always did in French, to him a foreign language, our astonishment is raised to see *how much he wrote*, and is still farther increased to see *how much he wrote well*.

Frederic has often been accused as deficient ⁴²⁵ both in natural feelings and in humanity. That the first of these imputations was false, may be proved by the facts, of his constantly dutiful and affectionate behaviour to his mother—of the sincerity of his grief at the death of his eldest sister—of the assiduity of his attentions and kindnesses to his dying friend, Jordan,—and of the greatness of his anxiety for the safety of the queen and the royal family after the battle of Cunersdorf. In like manner it is impossible to doubt his humanity, after we are told of the unusually small number of criminals

executed during his reign, and of his invariable reluctance to sign death-warrants. Many other anecdotes might be brought forward in support of his character upon this point; more ^{zur Vertheidigung} especially his extreme kindness to the French who were wounded at Rosbach.

426 His parsimony, of which so much has been said at different times, was surely justifiable, when we reflect that, without it, he would never have been able to perform those great actions which have raised his name so high in the page of history; nay more that without it, he could not even have saved his paternal dominions from misery and destruction. For it must be remembered that as Prussia is a poor country, and therefore able to pay very few annual taxes, the sovereign of it can never be in a condition to defend his rights, unless he has a considerable treasure always in his coffers. Under these circumstances economy was certainly allowable, if not praiseworthy.

427 Even in supporting pain, Frederic was superior to other men. Often, during the pressure of acute diseases in his old age, did he order himself to be put on horseback, and then, with an appearance of calm serenity, proceeded to review his troops.

Sometimes, on his return home he fainted, in consequence of the excess of anguish he had endured during the day. As he lived he died with unshaken fortitude, leaving behind him a reputation of genius and greatness of mind, such as in hardly any age has fallen to the lot of man. He was indeed one to use the language of the poet,

“Quem tu, Dea, tempore in omni,
Omnibus ornatum voluisti excellere rebus.”

THE END.

D r u c k f e h l e r.

Seite 58, Zeile 10 von unten, lies statt Altschaffenburg: Aschaffenburg.

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Quam tu, Rex, tempore in omni

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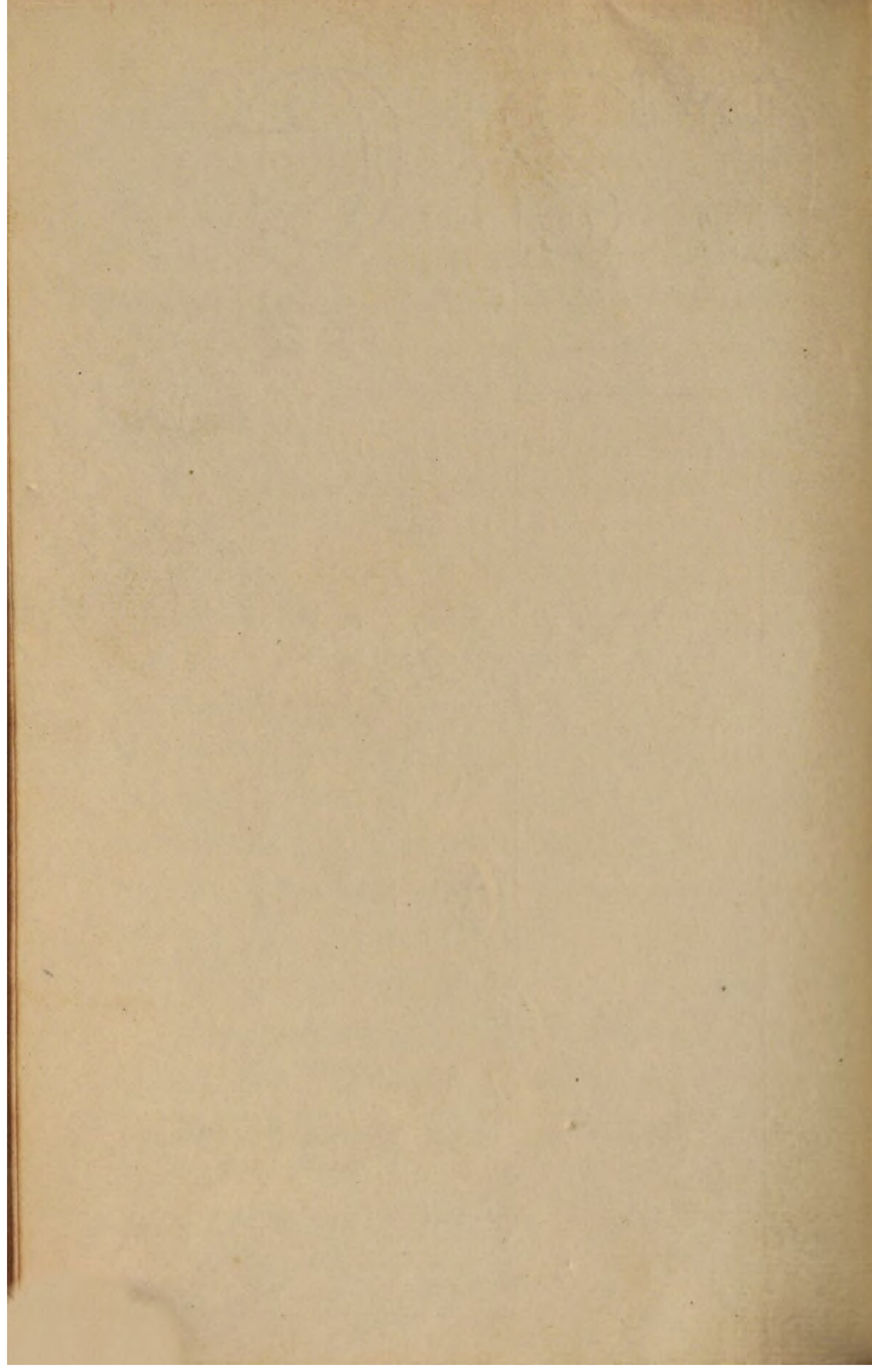
Quam tu, Rex, tempore in omni

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